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**From Port-of-Spain to Notting Hill and beyond
The internationalisation of the Trinidad-style carnival**

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**FROM PORT-OF-SPAIN TO NOTTING HILL AND BEYOND:
THE INTERNATIONALISATION OF THE TRINIDAD-STYLE
CARNIVAL**

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PhD Thesis

Department of Culture, Media and Creative Industries

King's College London

2014

Declaration of Authorship

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the regulations of King's College London. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent those of King's College London. The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED:

Acknowledgements

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Abstract

The thesis sought to uncover how the Notting Hill Carnival, which has its roots in the small island of Trinidad, was imported, established and became embedded firstly in its host community of Notting Hill and the later on the city of London - in the United Kingdom (UK). It also explored the specific ways in which the event then went on to play an integral role in a host of UK, European and other “Trinidad-style” carnivals across the globe. The thesis also sought to establish an overall process for the Notting Hill Carnival’s internationalisation. It utilised a combination of 28 interviews and a range of documents from both archival sources and interviewees to develop a nested case study of the Notting Hill Carnival from the period 1964-2013. It used international business theory and actor-network theory to code and analyse the data in order to uncover new insights from the festival’s international dimensions. The findings indicate that the Notting Hill Carnival was adapted from an existing festival and was then continuously reinvented or reframed to match changing local conditions. Its establishment and continued growth has been fuelled mainly by a combination of local public and private sector investments, as well as imports from Trinidad and exports to Western Europe by the cultural organisations which participate in the event. Its internationalisation has been marked by four distinct but overlapping phases – pre-internationalisation, inward internationalisation, adaptation/embedding and outward internationalisation, which are responsible for its continuous reinvention, keeping the fifty-year old festival as relevant and culturally significant, if not more so, as it when it first began.

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From Port-of-Spain to Notting Hill and Beyond: The Internationalisation of the Trinidad-style Carnival

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Background to the Research

This thesis locates itself at the nexus between culture and commerce. Specifically, it focuses on the economic exploitation of a cultural good, a concept which researchers within the cultural studies field have observed is somewhat difficult to define (Galloway & Dunlop, 2007). This thesis draws on the Throsby (2001) definition of culture and as such takes cultural goods to be those which contribute to the intellectual and artistic development of the individual. These goods are differentiated from others because of how they are valued. Unlike many other commercial goods, their symbolic meaning, or what the good represents, is the primary source of its value rather than a functional or literal value (O'Connor, 2000). Their symbolic meaning is what creates this sense of separation of cultural goods from regular commercial activity. Moreover, many cultural goods, such as music, dance and other performances, originally existed outside commercial activity.

In its examination of the economic exploitation of a cultural good, this thesis is far from unique. Culture and commerce have long been intertwined. Throughout history, artists and other producers of cultural goods, because of the necessity of patronage, whether from individuals, religious organisations, monarchies or governments (Pye, 1845; Erdman, 1992 and Little & Eichman, 2000), have faced a continual tension of balancing artistic integrity with economic imperatives. Unless an artist was independently wealthy, he or she, like other producers of products and services, was subject to market forces. Likewise, consumers have also had

economic imperatives for their consumption of cultural goods. As Bourdieu (1986, p. 54) suggests, “Economic capital” is at the root of the consumption of cultural and all other forms of capital. He also cautions, though, that cultural goods as transformed, disguised forms of economic capital are never entirely reducible to a purely economic definition. He explains that it is precisely by concealing the fact that economic capital is at their root that these types of goods become so valuable.

Cultural goods have emerged from being a relatively small part of the commercial life of economies to being a major component of economic development, particularly in Western societies (Pratt & Jeffcutt, 2009). This has led to the cultivating of an increasingly “economic image of the cultural sector” Pratt (2004, p. 20). At the same time, the forces of globalisation have brought economies throughout the world closer together, which has meant, increasingly, the commercial activities of the world’s economies are dominated by international transactions. Thus cultural goods, which now occupy a vital part of the commercial life of many economies, have become increasingly international as well. Cultural goods, such as festivals in particular, have been radically internationalised and are facing a myriad of challenges and also opportunities as a result.

It is in attempting to address the challenges and opportunities that internationalisation has meant for festival organisations that this thesis enters somewhat uncharted territory. It suggests that to truly understand the managerial complexities that international festival organisations are facing, they must be viewed as international businesses.

There is perhaps a natural tendency to focus on firms exploiting natural resources or producing manufactured goods when one thinks about international businesses. This is understandable, as some of the biggest, most visible and longest established international businesses are exploiters

of natural resources and manufacturers of goods. Multi-national oil companies such as Exxon, Mobil and British Petroleum were established as far back as the late nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries. Similarly, by 1914, companies such as Nestle, Unilever, General Electric and Siemens had already become international businesses (Jones, 1997).

However, a number of multi-national service providers were established in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, such as banks and trading companies in particular (Jones, 1997). It is estimated, for example, that by the end of the fourteenth century, there were 150 Italian banking firms which were truly multinational in their operations (Dunning & Lundan, 2008). Additionally, the well-known East India Company (EIC) was established in 1600 by royal charter. The company was formed to pursue trade with the East Indies. Its activities in the early seventeenth century were crucial for England's international trade (Chaudhuri, 1999) and played a vital role in the development of the British Empire. Another renowned trading company established around the early 1600s was the Dutch East India Company (established in 1602).

Additionally, experience products have also had a long history as international businesses. In academic literature, experience products are generally described as leisure and/or tourism products. They are distinguished from other service products, such as banking, transport and utilities because of the motivations and consumption behaviour associated with these particular products. Leisure and tourism fall into a category of product for which the drivers and experience of consumption are linked to the experiential rather the utilitarian aspects of life (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982). They are characterised by what can be described as “hedonic consumption” due to the responses these experiences evoke. These responses include, “multi-sensory images, fantasies and emotional arousal” (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982). The ancient Olympic Games provide one of the earliest examples of a leisure activity with an international character and it is

described as one of the first recorded examples of sport and event tourism (Weaver & Lawton, 2006)

Furthermore, over time, there has been a series of shifts in the dominance of specific types of products within international business. See Table 1.1. Table 1.1 shows that over time service products have become an increasingly important feature in foreign direct investment (FDI), with half the world's FDI being located in services by the 1990s. FDI consist of direct investments that firms make in foreign countries through the purchase of land, real estate or even hotels or shopping malls (Dlabay & Scott, 2010).

Although, international trade (imports and exports) continues to be dominated by goods or merchandise see Table 1.2, the growth in exports in services has been particularly striking in the last decade, with record increases being experienced just before the financial crisis in 2007 in all the major commercial service categories (these are, transportation, travel and other commercial services). See Table 1.3.

Table 1.1

Changes in the Dominance of Natural Resources, Manufacturing and Service Products

Product Type	Changes over time
Natural Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International business activity in natural resources began early in the 19th century and grew rapidly from around 1880 and up until 1950. More than half the world's FDI was located in this sector. • A decline in international business in natural resources was experienced from around 1950 as the advantages of long-established multi-nationals were eroded by host government intervention, the increased bargaining of host countries and the diffusion of technology and management skills.
Manufactured Products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rapid growth was experienced in the manufacturing sector in international business between 1880 and 1930. • This growth was halted by the First World War and the Great Depression. • After the 1950s up until the 1980s growth resumed.
Service Products	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 19th century, multinational services flourished in a borderless world. • As the 20th century progressed, especially in the 1930s, government intervention stopped international business in areas such as banking and air travel, but new opportunities were sought out in the provision of consumer services such as fast food and hotels. • From the 1960s, international banking, in particular, underwent a period of rapid expansion fuelled by deregulation, the establishment of global currency and capital markets outside government control, as well as technological innovations. • As the 1990s progressed, half of the world's FDI was located in services, with this percentage showing every sign of growing.

Source: Adapted from Jones (1997)

Table 1.2

International Trade in Merchandise and Commercial Services 2004-2013(in US\$ billions)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Merchandise										
Exports	9223	10508	12130	14022	16159	12554	15300	18327	18404	18784
Imports	9574	10870	12461	14330	16572	12781	15509	18503	18608	18874
Commercial*										
Services										
Exports	2248.8	2513.7	2843.2	3418.2	3843.1	3850.2	3823.4	4288.2	4382.2	4623.7
Imports	2145.8	2383.8	2665.5	3173.8	3633.6	3297.8	3615.7	4053.7	4161.2	4341.4

Source: Adapted from WTO (n.d)

*Excludes government services

Table 1.3

Increases in World Exports in Services 2000-2012 (percentage increases)

	2000-05	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Commercial Services	9	20	13	-12	9	11	2
Transportation	8	20	17	-23	15	9	1
Travel	7	15	10	-9	8	12	4
Other Commercial Services	12	23	12	-9	7	12	2

Source: Adapted from WTO (2009), WTO (2010) and WTO (2013)

The 1990s also saw a particular type of service become increasingly important to the world economy – experiences. As mentioned previously, experiences are a particular type of service product. Experiences are products which involve experiential aspects of consumption, rather than utilitarian ones. These types of products allow consumers to engage in fantasies, feelings and fun and often carry subjective meanings and characteristics. Experience goods are those for which

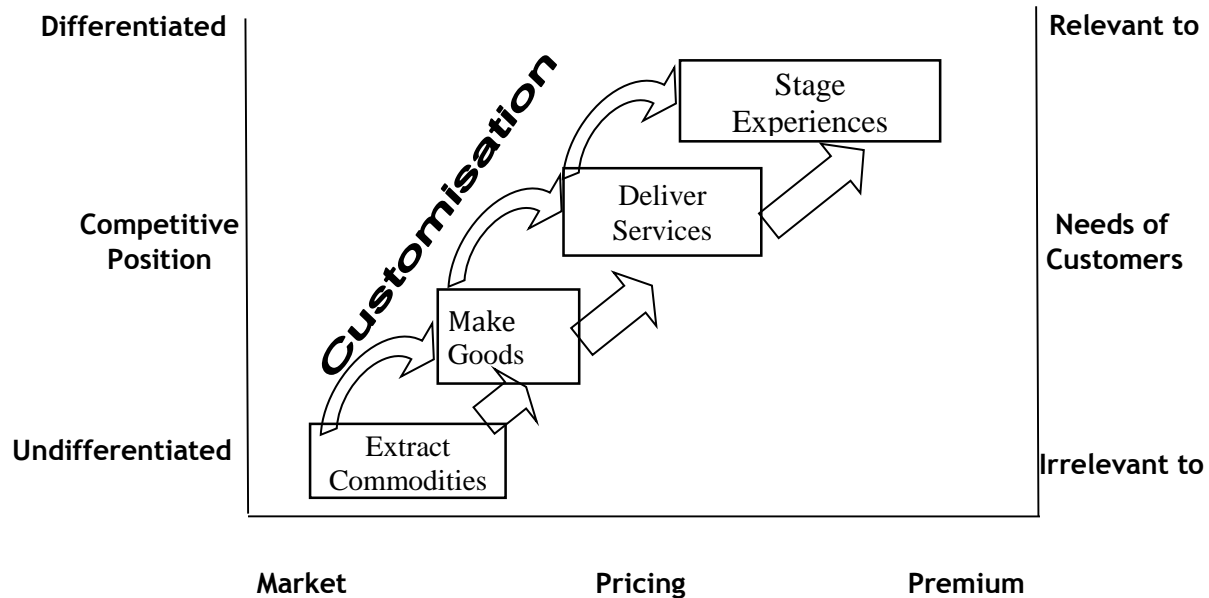
the symbolic role in consumption is “especially rich and salient”. These include entertainment, the arts and leisure activities (Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982).

Pine and Gilmore (1999) have described the growing importance of experiences in global business as the rise of the ‘experience economy’. The authors also suggest that, over time, commodities (described as materials from the natural world), goods and most recently services have become increasingly less valuable to consumers. Like Toffler (1970) writer of *Future Shock*, they have observed that consumers are becoming increasingly driven by the consumption of experiences rather than tangible goods.

Using the example of a coffee bean, they go on to illustrate exactly why experiences are so valuable. They explain that coffee beans are extracted from nature, as are other commodities like wood, oil and coal, and have relatively little value, earning the producer little more than US\$1 per pound, translating to one or two cents per cup. When these same coffee beans are turned into ground coffee and sold at a supermarket, the price goes up dramatically, jumping to between five and twenty-five cents per cup. The price will go up yet again to around 50 cents when the ground coffee is brewed and sold at a local coffee shop. However, when this coffee is brewed and sold in a high-priced restaurant in combination with service, ambience and a sense of theatricality, the customer will gladly pay US\$2-\$5 for a cup. The process of the coffee bean moving from being one cent per cup to US\$5 is summarised in Figure 1.1 as the progression of economic value.

Figure 1.1

The Progression of Economic Value



Source: Adapted from Pine and Gilmore (1999)

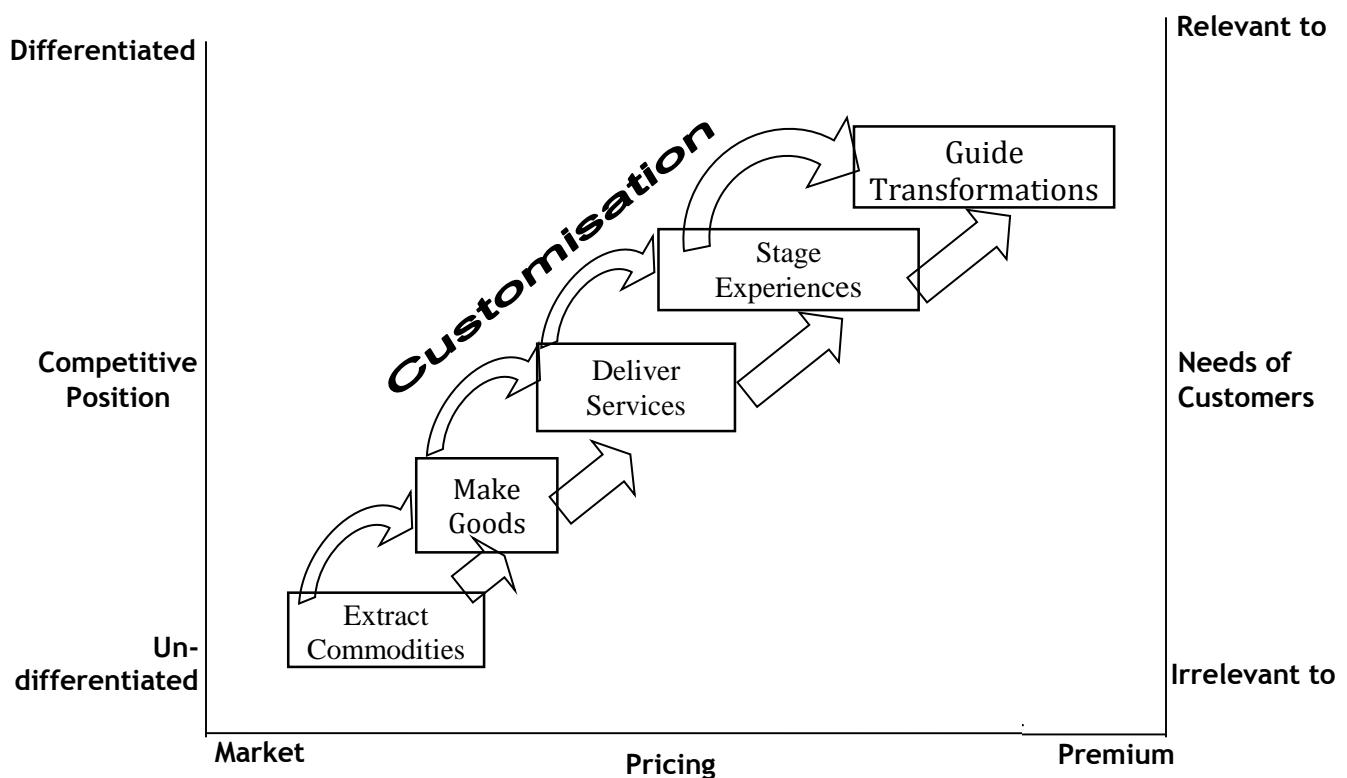
It should be noted, however, that the progression of economic value cannot be universally applied to all natural resources. Natural resources such as gold, diamonds and crude oil continue to hold their value in their raw state.

Elsewhere, the consumption of certain types experiences such as the arts and certain types of leisure has been described as the consumption of cultural capital, and the high value placed on these goods is attributed to their potential to result in “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” Bourdieu (1986, p. 47). Bourdieu distinguishes the acquisition of cultural capital of this type (cultural capital in its embodied state) from other types of capital by the necessity of the individual

having to make a personal investment to consume it. Unlike other types of capital, it must be experienced first-hand. Pine and Gilmore (1999) describe these types of experiences as “transformations” and suggest that by personalizing the experiences for individuals, companies can complete the progression of economic value. See Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2

The Further Progression of Economic Value



Source: Adapted from Pine and Gilmore (1999)

Other explanations for the growing importance of experiences can be found in the work of Lash and Urry (1994, p. 3) who suggest that in the post-modern era, objects (for example computers,

television sets and video recording devices) are becoming increasingly “disposable and depleted of meaning”, whilst individuals are becoming increasingly reflective. The result of this fundamental change has meant that the creative and cultural industries, which produce symbolic or experience- laden goods, have become increasingly important.

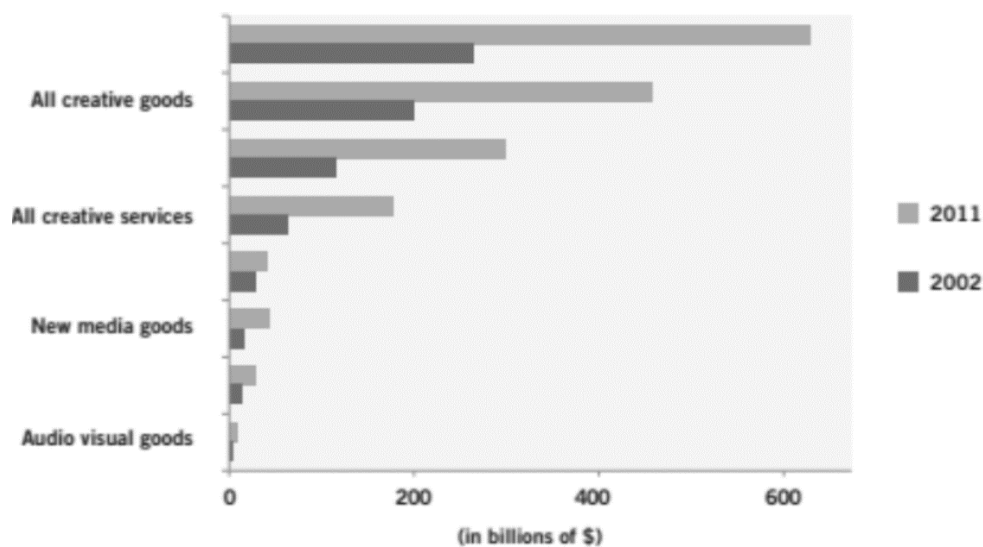
The 1990s also saw the term “creative industries” become widely used. There is some debate as to when the term originated. Howkins (2002, p. 1) claims that “the concept of the creative industry emerged in Australia in the early 1990s”, whereas other commentators trace wide usage of the term “creative industries” to the election of New Labour in the United Kingdom and the term’s inclusion in public policy (Flew, 2002; Caust, 2003 and Pratt, 2004). As Pratt (2008, p. 113) notes, before the late 1990s “nobody used the term creative industries; after the UK Creative Industries Task force produced its first mapping document, the creative industries became the flavour of the moment”. Pratt (2008) has also observed that the creative industries are international by nature, as firms within the creative industries are not ‘stand alone’ but are nodes within multiple production chains.

Governments, policy makers and investors throughout the world are increasingly recognising the potential of experience goods like entertainment, the arts and other leisure activities to be a source of competitive advantage for cities. They are being used more and more to improve their image, stimulate urban development and attract visitors and investment. Although cities have long used events such as World Fairs, Expos and sporting events to achieve economic benefits, studies do suggest an increase in these types of activities within recent times. Richards and Wilson (2004, p. 1932) for example, suggest that increasing integration of the global economy has meant that the built environment, infrastructure and amenities in many cities have become similar and thus governments have therefore turned to experiences as a means of adding value to structures and landmarks which would otherwise be “fixed cultural capital”. In the 2013, a special edition of the

Creative Economy Report (United Nations/UNDP/UNESCO, 2013) highlighted the dramatic evolution of world exports in creative goods and services since the year 2002. See Figure 1.3. A record US\$ 624 billion in 2011 was recorded as world trade in creative goods and services up from US\$ 559.5 billion in the previous year.

Figure 1.3

Evolution of World Exports in Creative Goods and Services 2002 and 2011



Source: United Nations/UNDP/UNESCO (2013, p.161)

Festivals in many ways exemplify and epitomise many of changes that have been brought about because of globalisation and the rise of experience/cultural/creative industries. Festivals are also playing a more significant role in international trade. In the last twenty-five years, festival/event tourism has expanded rapidly. Whereas it was once described as “an emerging giant” (Getz and Frisby, 1988, p. 22), it now occupies “significant status” in both domestic and international mass tourism markets (Picard and Robinson 2006, p. 2). Festivals are more and more consciously being developed as tourist attractions, (Getz, 1998) by festival and event organisers and local

communities hoping to cash in on the current trends of cultural tourism and place marketing. Gold and Gold (2005, p. 5) have also noted the great potential that governments attach to international festivals, as they “enjoy a reputation for being versatile events, to which enthusiastic promoters attach often extravagant expectations of the benefits likely to flow from inward investment, urban regeneration, and infrastructural improvement and boosts to a city’s international standing” .

Festivals are also becoming increasingly international in character because attracting international audiences to festivals often also involves the participation of individuals or groups from overseas. For many high profile arts festivals, the presence of international performers is critical for attracting audiences with international tastes (Prentice & Andersen, 2003). Aside from the presence of international audiences and participants, festivals have also become increasingly international because of their spread to places outside their country of origin. Migration trends, particularly within the twentieth century, have made the spread of festivals to destinations outside of their country of origin fairly common place. These types of festivals, often described as “Diaspora festivals”, play an important role in the expression and maintenance of identity for migrant peoples, as such celebrations are “one of the many practices that humans evolve in the process of connecting with their places, making homes for themselves and carving out landscapes in their own likeness” (Quinn, 2000, p. 263).

Diaspora festivals, such as the Notting Hill Carnival in particular, are receiving growing recognition for providing business opportunities for ethnic or cultural entrepreneurs because they serve as temporary market places with low entry barriers, allowing recent migrants, in particular, to explore business opportunities in music, dance and food retailing (Frost & Oakley, 2007). Levi Roots, known for his line of *Reggae Reggae* table sauces, is one of the more famous entrepreneurial success stories of the Notting Hill Carnival (Levi Roots Reggae Reggae Foods Ltd., 2012) and an

example of an immigrant who has been able to take advantage of the business opportunities of that event.

Additionally, the growing body of literature on cultural or ethnic entrepreneurship highlights the importance of these types of festivals in promoting entrepreneurship amongst migrants and also local businesses. Jamal (2005) outlines various ways in which festivals are used by small ethnic retailers as part of an overall marketing strategy. These include organising in-store events during festival periods, participation in festivals and selling products specifically related to festival days. Invariably, these activities also lead to international linkages between the home and host countries of these new festivals. Local festival organisers and businesses need to acquire inputs from their home countries to provide festival-related goods and services. Thus, they facilitate international flows of goods, investments and finances making these types of festival perhaps ideal test subjects to investigate the phenomenon of festival internationalisation.

1.2 Research Rationale, Aim and Objectives

Despite the significant investments made by governments into international festivals, they often fail to deliver projected financial returns. One reason why festivals may fail to deliver their expected outcomes is the way in which they are perceived. As mentioned previously, the commercial development of festivals for local and/or international audiences is generally regarded as a form of tourism. Tourism is often viewed as a "...non-essential and even frivolous activity involving pleasure-based motivations..." (Weaver & Lawton, 2006, p. 5). Hence, as Davidson (2005 cited in Weaver & Lawton, 2006) observes, it was, and still often is, seldom given the kind of attention in terms of institutional commitment or financial support that other industries receive.

As a field of study and career path, tourism has been plagued by the simplistic view that tourism-related education provides mainly vocational and technical skills, with job opportunities being restricted to mainly to customer service roles (Weaver & Lawton, 2006). Festivals which are seen as closely related to and/or part of the tourism sector have also suffered because of these beliefs and practices, which oversimplify and trivialise the significant and complex role they play in contemporary society.

International festivals which are celebrated by Diaspora populations, and play a critical role in the maintenance of ethnic identities of communities, tend to suffer from the additional problem of festival organisers and other stakeholders not taking an entrepreneurial view to festival development. Many of them tend to share the general perception that festivals like other cultural products and services are only useful as “recreation, social catharsis, as a political safety valve, and for cultural identity, and not for industrial development or the economic well-being of the society” (Nurse, 2004, p. 228). Often the festival can become closely bound to the organisers’ personal beliefs about identity, ethnicity and culture and they tend to allow their cultural motivations and commitments to particular cultural spheres to govern their planning decisions (Clarke, 2004). As observed by Jepson, Wiltshier, and Clarke (2008, p. 8), this allows those who do not “...possess specific knowledge in community festival planning to become ‘directors’ or ‘gatekeepers’...” which leads to festivals not achieving their financial goals.

Additionally, organisers and city planners can be overly enthusiastic about the potential benefits without carefully considering whether a festival is, in fact, suitable for international development. Festivals in small, rural locations, for example may be unsuitable attractions for large-scale tourism, because of the lack of suitable infrastructure in their locations and their very niche appeal (McKercher, Mei, & Tse, 2006). In other cases, the price of developing a cultural festival for the international market may be that its cultural and artistic integrity becomes totally compromised

and depleted of meaning, causing deep resentment from the community which stages it (Greenwood, 1989).

Despite the complex nature of the task of festival internationalisation, policy makers and organisers very often focus on single issues such as lack of money or managerial ability of the organisers (or lack thereof) when faced with the challenges of international festival development. This situation is compounded by the almost total absence of international festivals and other experience goods from the international business literature. Researchers have observed up until fairly recently that the study of international business has been dominated by manufacturing firms (McLaughlin & Fitzsimmons, 1996; Capar & Kotabe, 2003 and O'Farrell & Wood, 1994). Additionally, the focus of most studies on service internationalisation is on utilitarian- type services such as financial, technology and professional services (Nigh, Cho, & Krishnan, 1986; Katrishen & Scordis, 1998 and Cheung & Leung, 2007).

Within the domain of tourism, there is a great deal of literature which focuses on international festivals. These studies are generally classified under the umbrella of event/festival tourism (O'Sullivan & Jackson, 2002). Whilst these studies do address some of the issues involved in festival internationalisation, they do not provide a holistic view. Their focus is mainly on targeting and segmenting tourism audiences. They do not explore, for example, the complexities of managing international supply chains or the challenges of global competition. Geography-based studies also feature a number of articles which address international festivals. However, they tend to examine them as products of a specific location, with many studies examining the socio/cultural and economic impacts international festivals have for the host destination (Gibson & Davidson, 2004) or the peculiarities of local festival politics (O'Callaghan & Linehan, 2007). They do not focus specifically on the operations of international festival organisations. Other domains where there is substantial research on international festivals are within cultural/racial/ethnic/identity

studies. These studies also do not focus on managerial concerns, instead they explore the connections between festivals and societal issues, such as race and/or ethnic and identity politics.

The purpose of this research study is to provide a view of international festivals that addresses their contemporary position in the global economy. Festivals like other experience/cultural/creative products now occupy an increasingly greater significance in the international trade receipts for many economies than was the case a few decades earlier. The new emphasis on cultural and creative industries, and their potential to deliver tourism and economic benefits, has placed new expectations and challenges on festival organisations, making their growth, management and development increasingly complex.

International business theory, unlike the traditional research paradigms used to examine festivals such as festival tourism, has tackled the complex challenges that international firms face. However, so far, experience goods such as festivals have not been examined extensively in international business theory, thus applying this perspective also fills a gap in the international business literature. For Diaspora festivals, such as the Notting Hill Carnival, the thesis also provides new insights into the challenges presented by the particular international dimensions for their central organising bodies and other organisations which play a role in these types of events. It aims to explore the journey that Diaspora festivals take towards internationalisation. In support of this aim, the study set the following objectives:

1. To determine how a festival leaves its home country and becomes embedded in a host country
2. To understand how a festival is adapted in the internationalisation process
3. To analyse the ways in which a festival's elements are internationalised
4. To develop a process to describe festival internationalisation

1.3 Significance of the Study

Trends such as the growing importance of experiences/cultural/creative goods and services in the global trade picture, the emergence of cultural tourists (Smith, 2003) as a key segment in the tourism market, and the use of festivals for urban regeneration and renewal (Gold & Gold, 2005) suggest that the commercial and international aspects of festivals will become increasingly significant for the foreseeable future. The opportunities and challenges posed by the development of festivals for international audiences must be embraced by organisers and other stakeholders involved in their staging. Many of them are all already engaged in the complex task of managing international festival businesses, even though they may not acknowledge that this is indeed the case. Explicitly treating festivals as international businesses recognises the important role they play in global economy and can provide a deeper understanding of managing and growing international festival businesses. This new perspective highlights not only the complexity of managing international festivals but also the tremendous opportunities they represent.

This study also has special relevance for Diaspora and other festivals staged in the UK and in other economies affected by global financial crisis of 2008. Many of these festivals are facing an uncertain financial future due considerable cuts being made to public sector funding. International opportunities in emerging markets in Asia and Africa present new funding opportunities for festival organisations able to take advantage of them. The thesis provides insights into the means by which festivals are internationalised, the adaptations that must be made to target new audiences and the processes by which these adaptations take place and so has immediate practical applications for festival organisations contemplating internationalisation in light of recent events.

1.4 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into ten (10) chapters inclusive of the introduction. In **chapter 2**, a review of the literature on international festivals is presented. This chapter examines the research areas which have traditionally featured international festivals – tourism, geography and also the overlapping fields of culture, race, ethnicity and identity. It identifies the limits of these approaches in examining the internationalisation of festivals. The chapter then goes on to describe the potential of international business research to address the limitations of these traditional approaches. International business theory combined with actor-network theory is also used to develop an initial conceptual framework to address research the questions posed by the thesis.

Chapter 3 describes the phenomenon of the “Trinidad-style” carnival, which is celebrated primarily by the Trinidadian Diaspora but also by immigrants from other Caribbean islands. It details the origins of the cultural art forms which distinguish “Trinidad-style” carnivals from other carnival traditions, and also their peculiar management and organisational structures. This chapter also provides a listing of thirty-seven carnivals which are described as Trinidad-style and classifies them into four distinct categories.

The methods used to investigate the research objectives set by the thesis are described in **chapter 4**. It outlines the decision-making process involved in undertaking the research, highlighting the decisions made regarding the research’s philosophy, approach, strategy, time-horizon, sampling procedures and techniques used to analyse the data. It also explains the choice of the case study of the Notting Hill Carnival. The chapter also considers previous approaches taken to the study of international festivals and highlights strengths and limitations of the research methodology applied within the thesis, as well as the ethical issues involved.

Chapters 5-8 contain the findings of the nested case study which outlines the internationalisation of the Notting Hill Carnival from 1964-2013. **Chapter 5** provides an overall perspective of the internationalisation of the festival by tracing key developments of the Notting Hill Carnival's central organising bodies. **Chapters 6-8**, in contrast, examines the internationalisation of the festival from the perspective of the organisations involved in its key cultural forms – steel pan, masquerade and static sound systems.

In **chapter 9**, comparisons are made between the Notting Hill Carnival central organising bodies and the organisations involved in its art forms in terms of their international business activities and their overall path towards internationalisation. It also summarises and aggregates the findings of the nested case study, as well as highlights a number of emergent themes which, although not directly related to the research questions, are relevant to broader issues raised within the research

In the final chapter of the thesis, the rationale for undertaking the research, the research methodology and key findings are summarised. **Chapter 10** also specifically highlights the contribution the thesis has made by broadening the current understanding of international festivals and also advancing international business theory. It closes by acknowledging the limitations of the study, making specific recommendations to festival organisations, statutory funding bodies and tourism organisations and operators and suggesting how the findings of the thesis can be taken further with additional research.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The traditional research paradigms by which international festivals are studied, such as tourism and its related fields of event tourism and event management, geography and cultural/racial/ethnic and identity studies, have failed to adequately address many of the contemporary economic challenges that internationalisation has meant for festival organisations. This thesis has taken an international business perspective as a means of examining festival internationalisation, which specifically addresses the economic activities of festival organisations in an increasingly connected world. In this chapter, literature on international festivals published within the overlapping fields of tourism, geography and cultural, racial/ethnic and identity studies is presented, paying particular attention to how each of these subject areas deals with the challenges of festival internationalisation. Specific studies done on Trinidad-style carnivals are also highlighted. In so doing, the limitations of these approaches are explained and also how these approaches have failed to adequately capture the true economic potential of festivals such as Trinidad-style carnivals, and also the complex nature of their operations. Subsequently, the theory of international business is explored and emphasis given to aspects of theory that are most relevant to festival internationalisation. The limitations of traditional approaches used to study international festivals, combined with their absence from international business literature, demonstrates the highly original theoretical, methodological and also empirical contribution that this thesis makes. It poses entirely new research questions which provide key insights into the internationalisation of the Trinidad-style carnival and also international festivals and their role in the global economy more generally.

2.2 Festivals and Tourism

2.2.1 What are Festivals?

The term 'festival' has been used traditionally to signify a time of celebration, relaxation and recuperation which often followed a period of hard physical labour, typically the sowing and harvesting of crops (Policy Studies Institute, 1992, cited in Bowdin, McDonnell, Allen, & O'Toole, 2006). Many of the first festivals were also religious and mystical in nature. The word 'festival' comes from the Latin noun *festum* meaning a feast or holiday held in honour of a god. In the ancient world, festivals were important and widespread expressions of culture, and they have remained important ways for expressing and articulating cultures the world over (Gold & Gold, 2005).

However, modern festivals that are written about in tourism literature bear little resemblance to those that were linked to the harvesting of crops or the early fairs that were used as market places. In the field of tourism and the related disciplines of event management and event tourism, festivals are described as "... public, themed celebrations..." (Getz, 2005, p. 21). They are also known as 'special events', a term used to describe "... rituals, presentations, performances that are consciously planned and created to mark an occasion or to achieve particular goals and objectives" (Bowdin et al., 2006, p. 14). Festivals are distinguished from other types of special events by their purpose, which is the celebration or expression of the historical, social or cultural aspects of a particular host community (Getz, 2005).

For perhaps the majority of festivals, their primary goals and objectives remain the celebration and expression of aspects of community life. However, for an increasing number of them, economic objectives, such as profit and income generation, are of primary importance. This trend has been highlighted throughout tourism literature. The tourism industry, which is considered by many to be the largest business in the world, has become increasingly international and has given rise to an important market segment - 'cultural tourists'. These types of tourists differ from other tourists due to their motivation to travel, which is chiefly for cultural reasons. This typically involves visiting heritage sites, attractions, festivals and cultural events. They are generally high-income visitors who are well-educated and well-travelled, and spend several nights at a destination (Smith, 2003). Within the last two decades in particular, cultural tourists have become a very important market segment for festivals.

2.2.2 International Festivals

In tourism and event studies, many festival typologies do not have an "international" category. In such typologies, festivals are defined by their content and purpose (see for example Policy Studies Institute, cited by Bowdin et al., 2006). This is to be expected as festivals were traditionally local celebrations which feature the historical, social and cultural aspects of a particular host community. Recently, classifications have emerged which speak of their increasing economic and also international characteristics, such as the Andersson and Getz (2009) study which examined private, public and not-for-profit festivals. The O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002, p. 331) study classified festivals as "home-grown", "tourist tempter" and "big bang" to determine their potential to contribute sustainable local economies by attracting tourist audiences. In this study, festival types are distinguished from each other by size, geography, organisation and management and purpose. See Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

O'Sullivan and Jackson's (2002) Festival Classification

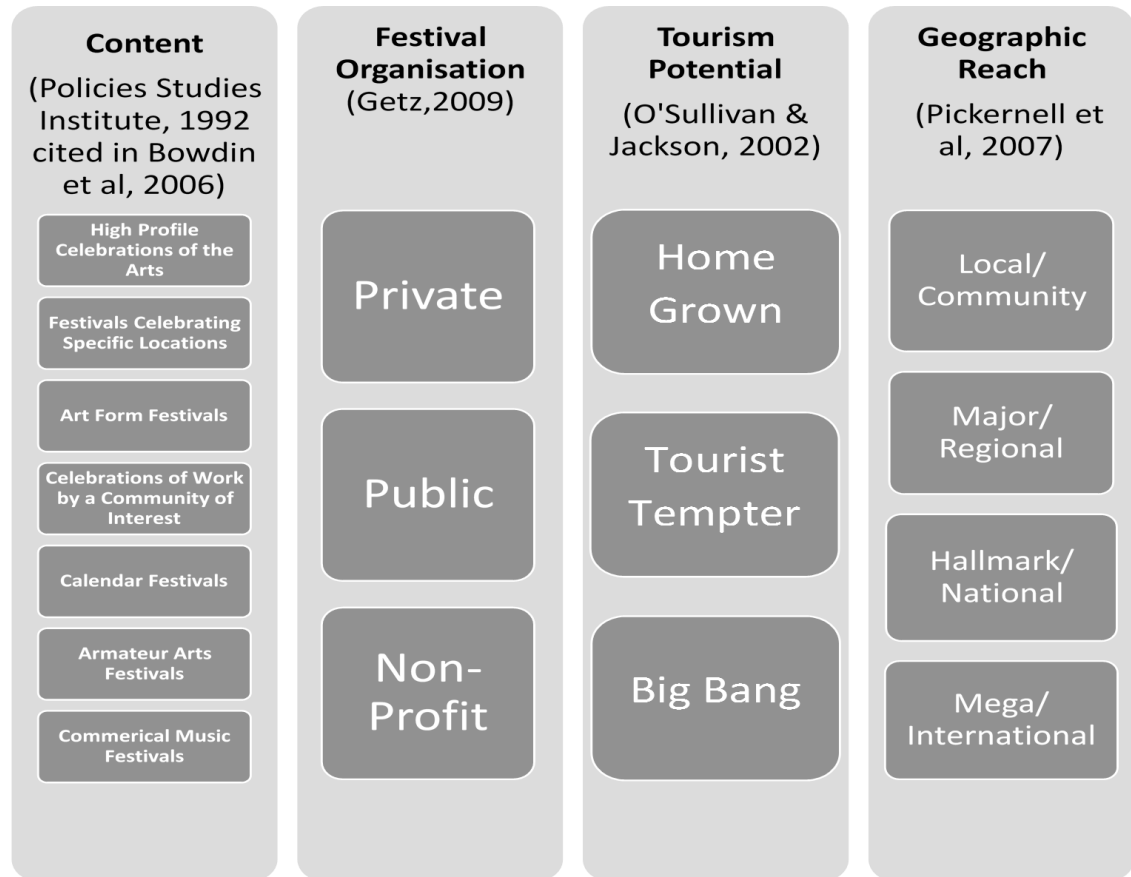
Festival Characteristic	Home Grown	Tourist Tempter	Big Bang
Size	Small	Medium	Large
Geography	Rural/Semi-rural	Urban/Urban fringe	Urban
Organisation & management	Community led/ Public and private sector support	Local authority	Public/private/ Voluntary sector
Objectives	Cultural and/or entertainment benefits for locals and visitors	Economic development via tourism	Economic development for partners/cultural and entertainment benefit for locals and visitors

Source: Adapted from O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002)

Elsewhere, festivals have been classified according to their geographical reach as “local/community”, “major/regional”, “hallmark/national” and “mega/international” (Pickernell, O'Sullivan, Senyard, & Keast, 2007). Whereas no precise definition exists, some key characteristics for events, which are described as international festivals, are highlighted by the above mentioned typologies. These include: a focus on attracting international audiences, specific economic imperatives and significant impacts for the destination in which they are hosted. They also attract international media attention.

Figure 2.1

Festival Typologies



2.2.3 Festival Tourism Research

Much of the research on festivals that has been created or developed for international audiences focuses on “festival tourism”, a term, which as observed by O'Sullivan and Jackson (2002, p. 326), has been used as a “catch-all” term which includes “special event tourism and festivals of any size or organisational persuasion”. As festival tourism has become an increasingly important feature of the tourism development strategies for countries, governments and communities, there

has been a significant increase in publications in this area. Themes that have emerged in recently published research studies are summarised in Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2

Key Festival Tourism Research Themes



2.2.3.1 International festivals and authenticity

Concerns about authenticity are especially prevalent when a festival develops from a small home-grown or community-based celebration to a major or mega event which is staged for the benefit of tourism audiences. Authenticity is cited as one of the key characteristics which give festivals

and other types of events their “specialness” (Getz, 2005, p. 17), and is related to their grounding in indigenous cultural values and attributes. As noted by Falassi (1987, p. 2):

“Both the social and the symbolic meaning of [the] festival are closely related to a series of overt values that the community recognizes as essential to its ideology and worldview, to its social identity, its historical continuity, and to its physical survival, which is ultimately what festival celebrates.”

However, what exactly is meant by an authentic festival is widely debated in tourism research. Traditional notions of authenticity, as the term relates to cultural products such as festivals, seem to be linked to the concept of an ‘object authenticity’ which can normally be determined by objective criteria, such as scientific fact, or a known location or a historical figure (Wang, 2000). This would mean that an authentic festival would be staged for its intended purpose and conform to a verifiable original format, such as in MacCannell’s (1976, p. 160) concept of authenticity in tourism which he described as “...the pristine, the primitive, the natural, that which is as yet untouched by modernity”. Thus, many tourism researchers argue that when tourist attractions, such as festivals, are put on for the purpose of visitor display, their authenticity is compromised because they become distorted to suit the needs of both the guests and their hosts in the pursuit of tourism goals (Boorstin, 1992; Bruner, 1991 and MacCannell, 1999). The often cited Greenwood (1989) article *Culture by the Pound* examines the Alarde, in Fuenterrabia in the Basque country, Spain. It is a ritual recreation of Fuenterrabia’s victory over the French in 1638 which loses its authenticity when the ritual is exploited for tourism and economic gains.

However, there is also the concept of an 'existential authenticity'. As noted by Kim and Jamal (2007), festival locations have the potential for individuals to experience this type of authenticity because they can be sites of self-making, meaning-making, and belonging. This type of authenticity has nothing to do within an objective reality as existential feelings are subjective and arise out of the particular meanings ascribed to festivals by individuals. Thus, festivals although invented can still provide a feeling of specialness or authenticity because of the values that attendees ascribe to them. Notable examples are Christian religious festivals such as Christmas Day celebrated on December 25, although most biblical scholars would agree that this was unlikely to be the case and that the date was one chosen by the church. Also, St. Valentine's Day, which originally had nothing to do with lovers but originated with two separate people, both called Valentine - Valentine of Terni was a 3rd century bishop who was martyred at Rome in 273 and Valentine of Rome was a priest who was also martyred for his faith in the mid-3rd century (Church of England, 2010). They have both been reinvented as secular holidays to which Christians and non-Christians ascribe their own meanings.

Others researchers have described an 'emergent authenticity'. This type of authenticity arises when a festival starts off being thought of as inauthentic but becomes authentic over time (Cohen, 1988). Cohen (1988) highlights the example of the Inti Raymi festival in Cuzco, a revival of an ancient Incaic custom which may in time become accepted as an authentic local custom.

Moreover, Cole (2007) asserts that cultural tourism, such as the exploitation of local festivals for economic gains, has the potential to empower indigenous peoples by making them self-conscious and proud of their culture, and by providing them with a political resource to manipulate. She also argues that authenticity is a western concept which fails to recognise the strategic use of tourism by marginalised communities in less developed countries. There is also the argument that the

concept of authenticity when applied to international festivals is in fact irrelevant, as many attendees may enjoy the contrived nature of cultural performances in tourist settings (Feifer, 1985).

The Trinidad Carnival and its many versions throughout the world have often been the subjects of authenticity debates. Although originating in Trinidad, the festival is a mix of traditions, mainly French and African, but there are also influences from the other populations that have settled on the island throughout its history, including Spanish, British, East Indian and Chinese. Its traditions also continually evolve over time. Thus, it is not possible to apply object authenticity to the Trinidad Carnival and its off-shoots. As one writer suggests of the Notting Hill Carnival, “defining the point where Carnival began is a bit like trying to figure out who invented dancing” (Moody, 2002, p. 45). However, this has not stopped carnival administrators and academics from applying very conventional notions of authenticity to these celebrations.

Green (2007a) criticises middle-class carnival administrators and culture brokers in Trinidad for considering the carnival of the past as more authentic and virtuous than the current hedonistic celebrations because they were supposedly less dominated by commercial elements and vulgarity. He describes their location of the authentic carnival within historic places and practices as a form of hegemonic nostalgia as they seek to celebrate an imagined purified and sanitised past version of the Trinidad Carnival, untainted by commercialism, violence and exhibitory sexuality. Franco (2007), in a similar vein, takes issue with male academics for valorising what she describes as an “invented” male dominated masquerade tradition within Trinidad-style carnivals, which commentators cite to describe contemporary female-dominated masquerade as inauthentic.

2.2.3.2 Audiences

Research studies on audiences in festival tourism focus on understanding and segmenting festival audiences, which has implications for how festivals are promoted to tourists and local visitors. A significant number are about determining the range of motivations or the reasons why people attend festivals, such as the Crompton and McKay (1997) seminal study. Other studies have also sought to link motivations to other types of attendee behaviour such as satisfaction (Lee, Lee, & Wicks, 2004) and repeat visits (Schofield & Thompson, 2007). Understanding the differences in motivation among attendee segments is also an area that has attracted interest, for example, differences in motivations between attendees of different ethnic groups (Lee, 2000) and nationalities (Lee et al., 2004). Specific attendee segments, such as repeat and first-time visitors, have also been shown to exhibit distinct types of consumer behaviour. For example, repeat visitors have been found to spend more money and to stay longer at events than first-time visitors (Kruger, Saayman, & Ellis, 2010).

Although these types of studies dominate festival tourism, they are virtually absent from the literature on Trinidad-style carnivals. The exception is work done on the recently launched Carnival Calabar festival, a Nigerian carnival which was fashioned after the Trinidad Carnival, but with a distinct African flavour (Cross River State, 2012) which found that there were no significant differences in attendee perceptions of satisfaction based on demographic variables (Esu & Arrey, 2009b). For Trinidad-style carnivals, especially outside of the Caribbean which are required to raise money from sponsors, this type of research is vital. However, outside of Africa, it is private consultancy firms rather than academics that have published this type of research on Trinidad-style carnivals. Examples include: the studies done on the economic impacts of Notting Hill

Carnival (London Development Agency, 2003) and West Indian American Day Carnival Parade (The Lugano Group, 2004).

2.2.3.3 Destination studies

Destination studies examine the use of international festivals in marketing and developing a destination for tourist visitors. These tourists can be from overseas or from places just outside a particular destination. Getz (2005) identifies four key ways in which festivals can be used to promote a destination: a place marketing tool, a tourist attraction, an animator of existing tourism facilities, and as an image maker for a destination. Despite the many benefits identified for festival tourism within destinations, in practice, accruing these benefits is far from straightforward and some come with unintended consequences. Ferdinand and Williams (2012) highlight that while festival tourism can breathe new life into heritage sites and create more economic and leisure options for locals, it must be approached carefully (particularly at religious monuments) so that these locations are not compromised by the substantial increase in visitors that tourism efforts can bring. Furthermore, Prentice and Andersen (2003) explore the difficulty in changing ingrained images of a destination. In their research on the use of festivals in Scotland to market it as a 'creative destination', they conclude that festivals are, in fact, only a small part of a visitors' image of Scotland. Far more important to most visitors were their own imaginings of the destination, which tended to be centred on an idealised rural past.

Despite being widely recognised as tourism products, there is a notable absence of studies which focus on how Trinidad-style carnivals are used in destination marketing, the exception (as was the case for research on audiences) being recent work on the Carnival Calabar festival. Esu and Arrey (2009b) used the Carnival Calabar as a case study for developing a model for branding

festivals as destination attractions. This is perhaps understandable for Trinidad-style carnivals which are celebrated in cities such as New York, Toronto and London, as these cities are well known and these events would just be one of the many that occur in these popular tourist destinations. However, for lesser known cities such as Bridgetown, Barbados (home of the Crop-over Festival), Kingston, Jamaica (home to Jamaica's Carnival) and Port-of-Spain, Trinidad (home of the Trinidad Carnival), the lack of publications in this area is surprising, especially since the governments of these countries all claim to host Trinidad-style carnivals to attract tourists.

2.2.3.4 Impact studies

These studies explore the range of impacts that are realised by festival tourism, which can be both positive and negative and financial and non-financial. (Bowdin et al., 2006) identifies four major impacts which events of all types can have which are useful for categorising the various impacts of festival tourism - these are, socio-cultural, physical and environmental, political and tourism and economic impacts. Research suggests that balancing the range of positive and negative impacts from festival tourism has been a considerable challenge for festival organisers. It is often the case when a festival realises economic objectives such as income generation and improvements to local infrastructure, it can come at the cost of community alienation as the social impacts of festivals are subjugated to economic outcomes (Quinn, 2006).

Recent publications highlight the emphasis placed on the obvious tourism and economic impacts of festivals by both practitioners and academics (Reid, 2008), and note the need for their social impacts to be also taken into account. Others highlight the problem of ascertaining the social impacts of festival tourism, since impacts are perceived differently by various stakeholders at festivals. As Chhabra, Healy, and Sills (2003) note, the impact of festival tourism on authenticity

is perceived very differently amongst various types of festival attendees. In their study on a Diaspora festival – the Scottish Highland Games, held in North Carolina – they found that tourists who were very serious about the event, such as members of a clan and women who had been to Scotland, perceived the games to be more authentic than other tourists without these connections.

Research on the impacts of Trinidad-style carnivals is very limited. Nurse (2004), which explores the tourism and economic impacts of the Trinidad carnival, stood for a long time as the lone example of an academic study of this type done on Trinidad-style carnivals. Recently, there was also a study of this type done for the Carnival Calabar (Esu, Arrey, Basil & Eyo, 2011). However, in the early 1990s to mid-2000s, when there was increasing interest in examining the value of the cultural and creative sector in various economies (notable examples being Canada, the United Kingdom and Australia), a number of impact studies were commissioned to determine the economic impacts of Trinidad-style carnivals. These included: *A Report to the Caribbean Cultural Committee on Caribana 1990 Survey, Toronto* published by Decca Research in 1991, *Festival Tourism in the Caribbean: An Economic Impact Assessment* (includes the Trinidad Carnival and the Barbados Crop Over festival) published by the Inter-American Development Bank in 2001, *The Economic Impact of the Notting Hill Carnival* published by the London Development Agency in 2003, and the *Brooklyn Carnival Economic Impact Study* published by the Lugano Group Inc. in 2004. In each case, this was the first time a major economic impact study had been commissioned for these festivals. Additionally, despite the significant impacts highlighted by these studies (see for example, Nurse, 2003) repeats of these assessments have been sporadic. Notably, *The Economic Impact of the Notting Hill Carnival* study has yet to be repeated. Moreover, there have never been any major studies which capture the socio-cultural, political or physical/environmental impacts of Trinidad-style carnivals.

2.2.4 Limitations of Festival Tourism Research

2.2.4.1 Difficult to compare and generalise

Festival tourism research offers a great variety of publications in terms of the particular issues being researched; the types of festivals investigated and the research methodologies used. Within authenticity, audience, destination and impact studies there is great diversity in the research that has been produced. Admittedly, like a great deal of tourism research, festival tourism is dominated by studies done on destinations in the developed world, typically large cities in North America, Europe and Australia. However, the growing popularity of festival tourism has meant that it has also been embraced by countries in the developing world. Recent publications in the area have kept step with this trend. Additionally, unlike many of the seminal tourism studies of the past which have been undertaken by outsiders typically from the United States or the United Kingdom, there is an increasing stream of publications from the developing world that have been written by home-grown researchers. These studies have brought new insights to festival tourism markets in destinations such as rural Asia (Chang, 2006 and McKercher et al., 2006), the Middle East (Anwar & Sohail, 2004) and Africa (Kruger et al., 2010). At same time, the highly heterogeneous nature of festival tourism research makes generalisation and comparison difficult, especially since the field is dominated by investigations into single, very specific case studies which are exploratory in nature. There are relatively few studies which attempt generalisation and/or comparison by investigating either multiple festivals in one country (Mossberg & Getz, 2006) or multiple festivals in multiple countries (Anderson & Getz, 2008). This is perhaps understandable as festivals like other events are unique, which makes comparison and generalisation difficult, even among festivals that appear very similar.

2.2.4.2 Does not address the full range of managerial and operational issues of festival internationalisation

Publications in the field, whilst being very diverse, share a common theme of being very application and practitioner focused, with perhaps the notable exception of research which focuses on festival authenticity, which utilises historical, sociological or cultural perspectives to analyse international festivals and their broader meanings for society. Studies published on festival audiences, the use of festivals to market destinations and on festival impacts typically include managerial implications for festival organisers. They focus on one or two main issues – targeting tourists and/or increasing tourist attendance (Crompton & McKay, 1997; Chang, 2006; McKercher et al., 2006 and Kruger et al., 2010) or measuring and/or balancing the range of impacts that festival tourism has for festivals and the communities in which they are hosted (Gibson & Davidson, 2004; Rollins & Delamere, 2007 and Reid 2008).

Many international festival organisations are quite mature and no longer face the fundamental problem of targeting and attracting tourists. Others still may not be suitable targets for tourism due to their specialised nature (McKercher et al., 2006) and although measuring and balancing the impacts of tourism remain pertinent problems for most festivals, they are faced with a host of challenges that are not necessarily directly related to tourists. Like other organisations, festival organisations face problems with sourcing inputs, managing their work forces, and governance. Additionally, and perhaps most pressing of all, is the challenge of providing an income to festival employees and keeping the festival organisation going outside the festival season, particularly when many festival workers (for example, performers and traditional crafts people) may not have the skills to participate in other sectors of the economy. Admittedly there are now a few studies which have moved beyond tourism to examine other issues surrounding international festival growth, such as ownership (Andersson & Getz, 2009) and festival branding (Mossberg & Getz,

2006) but these are relatively few and tend to examine festival growth using other perspectives such as economics and marketing.

2.2.4.3 View festivals in isolation

Internationalisation within this thesis has been defined as the adjustment of organisational resources and the coordination of structures to the requirements of international markets. In festival tourism research, there has been a great deal published on what has happened to festivals as a result of serving international tourism markets and, to a lesser extent, how festivals have adapted to serve these markets. As previously mentioned, the focus of this research has been primarily on the marketing efforts of festival organisers. There is little or no mention made of any other types of adjustments that festivals make to deal with international markets. Moreover, despite the fact that a natural consequence of serving international tourist markets is an increased involvement with these markets, which most of the time involves festivals in one way or other crossing national borders, festival tourism research is very internally focused, examining festivals through the lens of the host country. Thus, it is hardly surprising that the challenges and opportunities of running an international festival that fall outside of tourism are overlooked.

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2.2.5 Research Gaps Highlighted by Festival Tourism Research

Festival tourism research reveals an absence of research studies which focus on managerial concerns, outside of marketing and managing festival impacts, that must be faced by international festival organisers, including the sourcing of inputs, combating seasonality and festival branding and ownership. It also reveals a surprising lack of research of any type on the managerial issues of Trinidad-style carnivals. Rather than focusing on the contemporary economic challenges of

these festivals, researchers have been more concerned with exploring their authenticity (Sampath, 1997; Franco, 2007 and Green, 2007a), which has been shown to be a contentious concept when applied to Trinidad-style carnivals as, despite claims to the contrary, an objective notion of authenticity cannot be applied to these events.

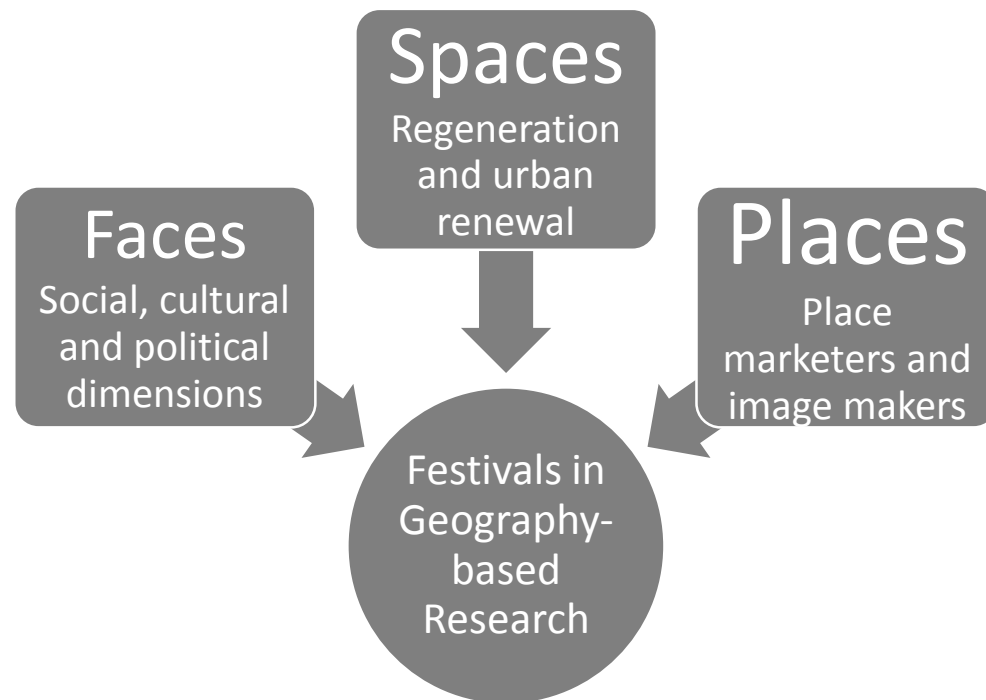
Nurse (2004), Esu and Arrey (2009a&b) and Esu et al. (2011) represent a few of the limited examples of research done on Trinidad-style carnivals which address the managerial challenges of these events. However, these studies like the others done within the festival tourism area are restricted to examining marketing to tourists and festival impacts. Additionally, like other studies in festival tourism, these publications focus on the specific events they examine in isolation, despite their links to an international network of other carnivals.

2.3 Festivals and Geography

Festivals must all happen somewhere. Settings may be defined spatially, in terms of a specific area or community, or even in terms of their environment, making them of great interest to geographers. Shaw (2012) provides a useful summary of the concerns of geographers that research international festivals - he describes these as “faces, spaces and places”. See Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3

Festivals in Geography-based Research



Source: Adapted from Shaw (2012)

2.3.1 Socio, Cultural and Political Dimensions of Festivals

These types of studies fall within the sub-fields of human, cultural or political geography and view festivals as cultural landscapes. They seek to uncover the political dynamics of groups operating within festival spaces. A key theme that arises within these types of studies is the inclusion or exclusion of particular socio-cultural or economic groups as a result of the hosting of international festivals. Often, in the name of portraying a positive image, hosting destinations will try to hide residents deemed undesirable from the view of visiting attendees. International festivals can also become the excuse for their permanent removal from cities, in particular. Atkinson and Laurier (1998) highlight the use of Bristol's 1996 International Festival of the Sea as a means of evicting

local travellers from their campsites. Another issue is that of conflicting views on which images of a particular culture should be shown at festivals. Arguments can become especially heated when festivals are religious in nature (Marston, 2002). Additionally, because of the large numbers of stakeholders involved in festivals, there can be disagreements about whose interests should be prioritised. In some cases, wider economic and political imperatives can overshadow a festival's core objectives. This was the case for the 2005 Cork Festival which became symbolic of local discontent with urban regeneration plans and which favoured property developers and politicians whilst disregarding the needs of residents and the local arts scene (O'Callaghan & Linehan, 2007).

Even when festivals provide communities with visibility and recognition, these benefits can be fraught with ambivalence as festival organisers can perhaps unwittingly end up serving both the community and wider political agendas when particular types of social relations are internationalised. Veronis (2006), for example, explains how the Canadian Hispanic Day Parade was used by Latin American immigrants in Toronto to contest dominant representations of immigrants, visible minorities and the disadvantaged but, at the same time, it also promoted a neoliberal political agenda by accepting the neoliberal government's funding, which arguably had negatively affected the capacity of immigrants, visible minorities, and the poor to voice their concerns in Canada. In addition to the dismantling of core funding, the neoliberal government began to dictate how the non-profit sector spent its resources (Kobayashi, 1999, and IMPACS, 2003 cited in Veronis, 2006). This process posed a serious threat to the work of advocacy groups traditionally carried out in the name of those at the margins of society (Miller, 1998 cited in Veronis, 2006).

Trinidad-style carnivals, especially those staged in large cities, serve the interests of a large number of stakeholders and are highly politicised events, so perhaps it is not surprising these events have caught the attention of researchers in field of political geography. Research published on Toronto's Caribana highlights the conflicting demands of Caribbean immigrants and their offspring of their carnival. The former see the festival to be an expression of Caribbean identity and the latter want the festival to articulate the needs of Black Canadians (Trotman, 2005). Jackson (1992) highlights the role of the state, as one which limits the political potential of an event such as Toronto's Caribana. He argues that through its financial contribution to Caribana, the state uses the event to promote its multiculturalism agenda which, at the same time, restricts the legitimate expression of cultural difference. Notting Hill Carnival has also been studied against the background of Britain's changing colonial relations with its former Caribbean colonies. It is argued that to understand the contemporary significance of the Notting Hill Carnival one must have knowledge of Caribbean history and also of the changing geography of British racism. Although the event is not reducible to these aspects, the rituals and symbolism of the event cannot be separated from the economic and political context (Jackson, 1988).

2.3.3 Festivals as Place Marketers or Image Making

The use of festivals in place marketing or to create or recreate a particular image for its host community is a key ingredient in festival-led regeneration and urban renewal. Successful place marketing is critical if visitors are to be continually attracted or businesses decide to make long-term investments in a destination. Place marketing is also vital for residents, as they have a pivotal role to play in providing an environment attractive to highly skilled workers and new industries, which is critical to the success of regeneration and urban renewal strategies (Sandercock & Dovey, 2002 and Sassen, 1994).

Place marketing can involve creating a distinctive image for a previously unknown destination or rebranding a destination. An example of the former is provided by the transformation of Tamworth, a rural town in Australia, into its nation's country music capital (Gibson & Davidson, 2004) and the latter is seen in the attempts of the local government of the city of Gwangju in Korea to transform their city's image from 'the city of resistance' to 'the city of art' (Shin, 2004). These studies are quite similar to the destination marketing studies done in tourism. However, geography studies, perhaps more so than those done in tourism, highlight the problematic nature of place marketing using festivals. Very often disagreements arise over whether the image put forward for a destination is truly representative of its inhabitants. As Quinn (2005, p.13) observes, very often when city festivals are used in a city's place marketing strategies, emphasis is placed purely on creating something spectacular rather than any deep thought process as it is "more a matter of style than substance".

As was the case with destination studies done by tourism researchers, geographers have observed that it is less than straightforward to change a city's image using festivals. Despite the efforts of city planners, a city's existing characteristics and history will continue to be a part of its image. This was the case with Rotterdam's festivals during the European Capital of Culture 2001 which, although improving the city's image as a cultural destination, the existing physical and tangible elements such as modern architecture, water and its character as the working city of the Netherlands continued to dominate (Richards & Wilson, 2004). In cases where a festival is successful in reinventing a destination, such as in the small town of Parkes in Australia with its Elvis Revival Festival, there can be residents who don't appreciate being the recipients of an invented tradition and place identity (Brennan-Horley, Connell, & Gibson, 2007).

As was the case with destinations studies in tourism, there is a notable absence of these types of studies on Trinidad-style carnivals. Perhaps this is because as Richard and Wilson (2004) note, these events have become brand names in their own right. These studies may be more relevant for the most recently established Trinidad-style carnivals such as the Carnival Calabar, and may appear in the coming years.

2.3.2 Festivals as Agents of Regeneration and Urban Renewal

Arts programming has long been recognised for its potential to regenerate cities and act as a catalyst for urban renewal, with discussions on the potential of festivals to be harnessed for these purposes increasing, particularly during the 1990s. Festivals have been described as a panacea used by “municipal authorities that have embraced entrepreneurial urban management policies and ideas of the ‘creative economy’ as mechanisms to address both social alienation and the economic demise of urban centres” (Waitt, 2008, p. 19). However, despite the great ambitions of governments to harness the regenerative powers of festivals, results can be less than ideal. García (2004) highlights the challenges of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Arts festivals in realising their ambitions. These included underfunding as a result of budget cuts, limited promotion and an ultimately incoherent programme of events that failed to “address the issue of sociospatial divisions within Sydney” (p. 111). In cases when substantial public investment is made and cities can boast tangible benefits such as new arts and cultural venues, job creation and economic returns, there can be population segments that are still unhappy as they can feel marginalised by urban regeneration plans. This was the case for Workers’ City group which was described as “among the most vociferous” opponents of the Glasgow European Capital of Culture 1990 (Mooney, 2004, p. 330). Shaw (2012) highlights how the crowd-pulling success of two annual street festivals and the subsequent programme of cultural events, encouraged a local authority to

propose the permanent transformation or ‘festivisation’ of Brick Lane. The proposal led to “an unexpected ferocity” of opposition from the local community, which highlights that festival-led regeneration, even when successful, is not embraced by everyone (p.403). Moreover, urban managers have also been criticised for seeing festivals as quick-fix solutions to economic problems rather than for their social and cultural benefits (Quinn, 2005).

Trinidad-style carnivals have not been the focus of studies on regeneration and urban renewal. This could be perhaps because these are essentially street festivals using very little in the way of purpose-built infrastructure. Research on their impacts also tends to be focused on the economic impacts generated -by the festivals days, not in the long-term. This reveals an important gap in the research, as Nurse (2004) has highlighted the global carnival industry is for many people (especially in Trinidad) a source of year-round employment and business, so these events may have been wrongly overlooked as a potential source of regeneration and urban renewal.

2.3.5 Limitations of Geography-based Festival Research

As was the case with research done on festivals by tourism researchers, geography research reveals a great deal of diversity in terms of the types of festivals investigated and the themes highlighted. Admittedly there is also a bias towards developed countries, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia but increasingly there are studies being undertaken in developing countries as well, especially within Asia. As might be expected, geography-based research on festivals, like those done in tourism, also suffers from a lack of generalisability as studies tend to be comprised of single qualitative studies. However, geography-based research tends not to view festivals in isolation but connected to wider social, political and cultural events.

In examining Diaspora festivals, such as St. Patrick's Day and Trinidad-style carnivals, connections are made to the communities in which these events originated and to other versions happening in other countries in the world. However, geography-based studies, due to their quite broad focus, do not pay specific attention to the actions of festival organisers. These studies are therefore limited in providing an understanding of the specific organisational challenges they face.

2.3.6 Research Gaps Revealed by Geography-based Research

Trinidad-style carnivals, like other street festivals, do not feature in studies which examine the potential of festivals to be used as part of regeneration and urban renewal strategies. These festivals are perhaps not the obvious choice for this type of research because they require little in the way of built infrastructure. These events do, nonetheless, bring new life to city streets and, as is the case with Trinidad-style carnivals, can be a source of year-round employment potentially attracting skilled workers and new businesses to an area. This type of research may go some way to providing an understanding as to the ongoing organisational challenges and opportunities of contemporary international festivals.

Generally, geography-based research does not specifically address the managerial issues of international festivals and the complexities involved international festival management.

2.4 Cultural, Racial, Ethnic and Identity Studies

Festivals, although increasingly viewed as tourism products and part of regeneration and urban renewal strategies, are perhaps, first and foremost, ways in which communities, cultures

and societies express themselves. Thus it is no surprise that international festivals such as Trinidad-style carnivals feature in cultural, racial, ethnic and identity studies. Cultural practices, such as festivals, are inextricably linked with issues of race, ethnicity and identity. For example, research studies on festivals which celebrate the cultures of Diaspora populations explore how these festivals have helped in creating transnational identities (Micallef, 2004; Shukla, 1997 and Mato, 2000), highlighting that while these celebrations increase the visibility and profile of immigrant communities, they are also sites of conflict as they can potentially reduce cultural identity to “a fetishized surplus value” (Nagle, 2005, p. 563). However, popular events such as Mardi Gras, even whilst promoted as commercial tourism products, provide important opportunities for groups participating (for example, ethnic minorities, gays and lesbians) to express their identities (Lipsitz, 1988 and Kates, 2003). As Brickell (2000) observes, the act of parading in a public space allows minority groups to challenge dominant ideologies and “the performance can act as a site for resistance” Lewis (1996, p. 23).

Trinidad-style carnivals are very prevalent in cultural, racial and ethnic and identity studies. Like research on other festivals which celebrate the cultures of Diaspora of populations, these publications explore the role of carnival in the creation of a transnational Caribbean identity and how these festivals link Caribbean immigrants to their countries of origin (Burman, 2001). They have also been examined as sites for the creation of multiple hybridised identities through the interaction of Caribbean immigrant populations with their host societies. As Nurse (1999, p. 683) observes, these celebrations have become ritual acts of “transnational, transcultural, transgressive politics”. The aesthetics of the cultural forms presented in Trinidad-style carnivals have also been extensively studied. Juneja (1988), for example, examines the evolving symbolism of the ritual, performance and spectacle of the Trinidad carnival. Harewood (2005) demonstrates the importance of the performance aspects of calypso in the Barbados’ Crop Over Festival and their potential to challenge discourses of sexual identity. Ferris (2010) also highlights

the creative tensions involved in masquerade making in Britain as artists struggle to show their work as a viable art form. These studies highlight how art forms can intersect broader societal issues such as identity, sexuality and ethnicity. Studies on the UK Carnivals in particular examine how these festivals intersect with the race politics of Britain (Austin, 1978; Cohen, 1982 and Spooner, 1996).

2.4.1 Limitations of Festival Research in Cultural, Racial, Ethnic and Identity Research

Like festival research in human, cultural or political geography, studies which examine festivals in cultural, racial, ethnic and identity tend to view them as cultural landscapes. They seek to make connections between a festival and its cultural and artistic elements and broader societal issues, such as race and/or ethnic and identity politics. Their focus tends to be on the aesthetics, rituals and performances involved in festivals rather than on their management and organisation. However, recently there have also been an increasing number of these types of studies which examine how festivals have been commercialised and the resulting impacts. In some cases, commercialisation has been linked to a perception of festivals becoming less experimental and more mainstream (Frew & Ali-Knight, 2010). In other cases, commercial interests have been perceived as overtaking core concerns when festival programming is adjusted to serve economic goals. For example, when the Cinco de Mayo festival, celebrated in the city of Corona in Riverside County, California in the United States, decided takes financial sponsorship from the citrus industry, many in Mexican American community were angered. A Lemon fiesta theme was proposed with lemon themed activities to match. This led to accusations that the festival organisers were “selling out” and “de-Mexicanising” Cinco de Mayo by succumbing to the hegemonic control of the local citrus industry and corporate America” (Alamillo, 2003, p. 73). The theme of commercialisation has also been explored in the Trinidad Carnival. Green (2007a)

explores the tension between processes of cultural commodification and processes of authentication in the marketing of the Trinidad Carnival. Still, as is the case as in other cultural, racial, ethnic, and identity studies research, there is no specific focus on the festival organisations (although their actions will be mentioned), as they are concerned with broader societal issues (for example, how these events re-enforce or challenge societal norms or how celebrations of particular ethnic/minority reflect their social and economic progress). Therefore, their potential for providing an understanding of how the managerial issues of these festivals are to be addressed is quite limited.

2.4.2 Research Gaps Revealed in Cultural, Racial, Ethnic and Identity Research

Due to the nature of much the subject matter examined in cultural, racial and ethnic and identity fields, these types of studies do not tend to focus on the actions of festivals organisations. Whilst they do explore larger issues such as community, political and media reactions to the strategies employed by festival managers, not much attention is paid to festival managers themselves and how they address organisation challenges in a contemporary festival landscape.

2.5 Rationale for a New Approach

In reviewing the dominant approaches taken to the study of international festivals, there have been a number of limitations and research gaps highlighted. There is limited coverage of the contemporary economic challenges and opportunities that festival organisers face, especially those that come with internationalisation. Festival tourism studies, when compared to the other types of studies reviewed, pay the most attention to the managerial implications of international festivals but their focus is limited mainly to one aspect of international business activity – serving tourists. There have not been studies which focus explicitly on the other international business

opportunities festivals can provide such as foreign direct investment and opportunities for international collaborations with subsidiaries and network organisations.

Geography-based studies in seeking to examine cultural landscapes provide a broad overview of the social, political and economic issues international festivals have for communities. In the case of Diaspora festivals, these studies also make links between home and host communities. However, whilst they do explore the range of benefits and drawbacks of international festivals for host communities, they do not specifically address the strategies for maximising advantages or minimising the disadvantages of festival internationalisation.

Cultural, racial and ethnic, and identity studies pay closer attention to the non-economic aspects of international festivals, such as aesthetics, rituals and performances. Like geography-based studies, which examine the social, cultural and political dimensions of international festivals, research within these fields seek to link international festivals with broader societal issues, especially race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and identity. They also make explicit links between these festivals and the creation of Diaspora or transnational communities (such as the Irish community with St. Patrick's Day). Recently, there have been an increasing number of studies within the cultural research field which examine the impacts of commercialisation on festivals. However, like geography-based research, their broad focus means the specific strategic and managerial implications of festival internationalisation are not addressed.

In the case of Trinidad-style carnivals specifically, there is a lack of research generally on the economic and operational aspects of these festivals. There are very few studies on these festivals giving explicit focus to strategies for festival organisers. Even in the field of tourism, the majority

of publications are concerned with authenticity rather than the practical, managerial implications of festival internationalisation. Geography-based studies on Trinidad-style carnivals focus on their political and social dimensions rather than economic impacts. Within cultural, racial, ethnic and identity studies, there are a great number of publications but their focus is mainly on the aesthetics of the cultural forms within the carnival and how these intersect with culture, race, ethnicity and identity issues. Additionally, and perhaps more importantly, despite this lack of the specific focus on festival organisations, in studies published on Trinidad-style carnivals, authors have been critical of the organisational and managerial capabilities of festival organisers. See Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Criticisms of Trinidad-style Carnival Organisers

Type of Study	Article details	Description	Comments made about festival organisers
Tourism	Nurse (2004, p. 228)	It analyses the economic impact of the Trinidad Carnival on the tourism and cultural industries as well as on the wider economy of Trinidad and Tobago.	"...Carnival organisers and artistic creators have not adopted enough of an entrepreneurial approach to the festival."
	Burr (2006, p. 96)	It investigates the problems with managing the revelry of the Notting Hill Carnival to comply with the requirements of local statutory bodies.	"... undeveloped business skills, a lack professional specialization..."
Geography-based study	Trotman (1997, p.194)	It examines the competing claims for ownership of Toronto's Caribana.	"The poverty of management belies and is in no way commensurate with the richness of the cultural product on display each year."
Cultural study	Nurse (1999, p. 679)	It examines the Trinidad Carnival as a hybrid site for the ritual negotiation of cultural identity and practice by the Caribbean Diaspora. The circuit of worldwide Trinidad-style carnivals is also discussed.	"...carnival organisers have not adopted enough of an entrepreneurial approach to the festival."

None of the articles in Table 2.2 survey festival organisers or specifically address the tasks of managing an international festival. There are also no specific findings in these articles to support the assessment of these festival organisations' capabilities. They suggest that this festival, which originated as a local event on a small Caribbean island, has been able to overcome the managerial limitations of its organisers to become a major feature of cities throughout the

Caribbean, North America and Europe, and despite an alleged persistent lack of business skills amongst these individuals, Trinidad-style carnivals continue to expand and multiply. Furthermore, due to the lack of specific focus on festival organisations within the academic literature on international festivals, examining studies on similar festivals such as Oktoberfest and St. Patrick's Day does not provide an explanation as to how this extraordinary feat might have been achieved. This formidable conundrum combined with a considerable gap in the research on festival internationalisation point to a need for theoretically and empirically informed studies on the management and organisation of international events, such as Trinidad-style carnivals. As Getz (2008) observes, these types of studies are extremely rare and there is great scope for research to expand knowledge in this area.

The field of international business provides a useful underpinning for such a study. Over the past few decades, researchers in this area have examined both outward (Johanson & Vahlne, 1977) and inward international business activities (Fletcher, 2001), as well as multiple types or modes of international business operations (Hill, 1999). Whilst festival organisations may be somewhat different from the firms typically found in international business research in terms of their objectives, they do, nonetheless, engage in international business activities. Like many businesses in an increasingly connected world, international business activities are vital to their survival. It is also by participating in these activities that festival organisers have been able to grow their events into international festivals.

2.6 International Business Research

2.6.1 What Does International Business Research Involve?

International business is a term used to describe the behaviour of firms which participate in business activities outside of the countries in which they originated. This behaviour can be conceived in general, macroeconomic terms or in specific, microeconomic terms. From a general or macroeconomic perspective, international business refers to interconnections of countries within the global economy with respect to the flow of goods, investments and finances (Backhaus, Buschken & Voeth, 2005). It can be defined as international trade and foreign production activities undertaken by countries. International trade consists of imports and exports, whereas foreign production activities consist of investment in manufacturing facilities for the production of goods overseas, whether by ownership of production facilities or by way of contracting out manufacturing in whole or in part to foreign partners (Kotabe & Helsen, 2004). From a specific or microeconomic perspective, international business can be viewed as the corporate activities of a single firm. Thus, an international business is “any firm that engages in international trade or investment” (Hill, 2007, p. 33). International businesses are also referred to as multinational enterprises (MNEs). However, an MNE is defined as a firm that controls operations or income generating assets in more than one country (Jones, 1997). A firm need not invest in operations in foreign countries to be classified as an international business. All that is required is the export or import of products or services from other countries (Hill, 2007).

2.6.2 The Scope of International Business Research

The study of international business is concerned essentially with three issues: the options firms have to engage in international business, why firms would invest in production facilities in overseas markets, and the path or process of internationalisation. It highlights the complexities of doing business in foreign markets and analyses the advantages and disadvantages of various internationalisation options. It also examines the ways in which firms coordinate activities among its subsidiaries or within related organisational networks (Jones, 1997). Additionally, international business research seeks to demonstrate how international business differs from doing business locally and explores the policy and managerial implications that arise.

In exploring these issues, researchers have utilised a variety of research paradigms. For instance, large areas of research in international business have been dominated by the extension of core disciplines such as marketing, finance and economics into the international arena (Buckley & Chapman, 1996). However, some researchers view the subject of international business as one that necessitates interdisciplinary or 'transdisciplinary' approaches (Toyne, 1989 and Dunning, 1989). Others still have made a case for the moulding of key concepts across disciplines (Buckley & Chapman, 1996).

Along with the variety in approaches, there has also been increasing variability in the types of firms and industries studied in international business. Researchers have observed that up until fairly recently, the study of international business has been dominated by research on manufacturing firms (McLaughlin & Fitzsimmons, 1996; Capar & Kotabe, 2003 and O'Farrell & Wood, 1994) and by researchers from the US and Canada, "...viewing the world from the

perspective of US-based paradigms...” (Wright & Ricks, 1994, p. 697). However, with the increasing dominance of the service sector in the global economy and decreasing dominance of the US in the world’s output and trade picture, research has been published to reflect these new realities. There has been a great deal of research effort put forward to aid the understanding of the internationalisation of service firms (Edvardsson, Edvinsson, & Nystrom, 1993; Katrishen & Scordis, 1998; O’Farrell, Wood, & Zheng, 1998 and Sánchez, Pla-Barber, & Hébert, 2007) and as noted by Wright and Ricks (1994), there has been a dramatic increase in contributions from European and Asian researchers.

However, there are still considerable gaps that need to be addressed. Notably, there remains very little research on the cultural and creative industries. The focus of most studies of service sector internationalisation is on utilitarian-type services, such as financial, technology and professional services (Nigh, Cho & Khrisnan, 1986 and Cheung & Leung, 2007). O’Farrell and Wood (1994) argued that service firm internationalisation needed to be studied separately from manufacturing firms because of the substantial differences between goods and services. A similar argument can also be made for the study of the internationalisation of experience products. Researchers within a variety of business disciplines have already suggested that cultural and creative products such as movies, live events and vacations possess attributes that make them very different from other goods and services and, as such, they belong to a distinct product category (Hirschman & Holbrook, 1982; Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982; Wakefield & Barnes, 1997 and Kwortnik Jr & Ross Jr, 2007). This has implications both for the theoretical understanding and practical business decisions that must be made for these types of products.

2.6.3 Theories of Internationalisation

2.6.3.1 Internationalisation options

The first decision a business must make before engaging in outward international business activity is to choose an appropriate method (Clark, Pugh, & Mallory, 1997). Five possible methods or modes can be applied to a festival's outward internationalisation, which are described by Hill (1999) as: exporting, licensing, foreign joint venture, foreign direct investment and franchising.

1. **Exporting** - In exporting, typically production is carried out in the home country while sales and marketing activities are carried out in the foreign country, either directly by the firm or indirectly, through agents. Exporting remains the primary means of internationalisation for most enterprises, as it offers flexibility with minimal resource commitment (Wolff & Pett, 2000). For services and experience goods, such as festivals, production cannot be unbundled from consumption so this definition would not apply. The General Agreement for the Trade of Services (GATS, 1995 cited in Doole & Lowe, 2012) developed four modes for the exporting of services which can be applied to festivals, which allows their intangible aspects to be taken into account:
 - (a) **Cross-border trade** - where the trade takes place from one country to another, without the movement of persons (such as through the use of the internet)
 - (b) **Consumption abroad** - where the customer travels to the country where the service is supplied (such as when tourists travel to where a festival is located)

- (c) **Commercial presence** - where the supplier establishes a commercial presence abroad (for example, if a festival organisation were to establish an affiliate in a foreign country to manage on-site operations)
 - (d) **Movement of natural persons** - where the provider of the service crosses national borders to deliver their service (in this case, a festival organisation would travel to another country to serve customers)
-
- 2. **Licensing** - In licensing, a licensor grants intellectual property rights to a licensee in a foreign market in exchange for a royalty payment. This form of internationalisation is of great benefit to the licensor as it enables a financial return on existing assets at relatively low costs, and to the licensee as it enables access to codified intellectual property (Chen & Hu, 2002).
 - 3. **Foreign Joint Venture** - Joint ventures are firms owned by two or more entities to perform research, sales or other functions in a foreign market (Woodside, 2006).
 - 4. **Wholly Owned Subsidiary** - Entities can create a wholly owned subsidiary in a foreign country to carry out functions in a foreign market.
 - 5. **Franchising** - In franchising, a foreign franchisor allows the use of its intellectual property by a local entity for a fee (Heung, Zhang, & Jiang, 2008).

'Turnkey' projects, which are also an internationalisation mode, involve a contract under which a firm agrees to fully design, construct and equip a manufacturing/ business/ service facility and turn the project over to the purchaser when it is ready for operation for a remuneration. This has not been considered in this thesis because this option is not relevant to festivals, as their temporary nature means they are without permanent production facilities.

There are number of research studies which examine what determines the choice of market entry for a firm. One key determinant identified is the transaction costs that are involved with internationalisation, which is highlighted by internationalisation theory. Researchers have sought to determine, for example, under which circumstances a particular entry mode would be most cost efficient in the long-run, and which highlights the importance of relative transaction costs (Anderson & Gatignon, 1986). Meyer (2001) also looks at the impact the public institutions have in reducing transaction costs in transition economies, suggesting that host country institutions in transition economies have an impact on the choice of entry modes. Others have explored how a type of firm (for example, whether service or manufacturing) influences transaction costs and the choice of the mode of market entry (Erramilli & Rao, 1993). Another factor which has been found to impact upon market entry choice is perceived risk. Miller (1993) proposed that perceived risk can be classified into six areas of environmental uncertainty – the uncertainty of government policies, macro-economic uncertainties, the uncertainty of the resources and services used by the company, the uncertainty of the product market and demand, the uncertainty of competition, and the uncertainty of the technology. Perceived risk has also been described as internal or external (Ahmed, Mohamad, Tan, & Johnson, 2002). Additionally, perceived risks have been found to be different amongst manufacturing and service firms (Brouthers, Brouthers, & Werner, 2002). Additionally, country specific factors have been identified as important determinants of mode of foreign market entry.. These include cultural distance between the home and host countries, attitudes towards risk taking in the home country (Kogut & Singh, 1988) and host country market characteristics (Kwon & Konopa, 1993).

Inward internationalisation, although not as widely researched as outward internationalisation, is also an important decision for firms to make. For example, domestic firms may first undertake import development or inward internationalisation before going on to export activity (Welch &

Luostarinen, 1993). The simplest form of inward internationalisation is importing. Other forms are licensing, foreign joint ventures, direct investment, franchising and turnkey projects, which are as described previously for outward internationalisation, the difference for inward internationalisation being that the business activity takes place in the opposite direction.

2.6.3.2 Why do firms operate outside their home country?

Initially, market power, that is the possession of assets, costs or economies of scale, was proposed to be key determinants of a firm's internationalisation (Hymer, 1976). The eclectic paradigm of international production theory (Dunning, 1997) is one theory that upholds this view because it relates the type, volume and geographical distribution of a firm's international activities to three factors: Ownership, Location and Internalisation (OLI). *Ownership* factors are a firm's specific competitive advantages in relation to other firms. In the eclectic paradigm or OLI model, the greater these advantages are in relation to competing firms, the greater the tendency of the firm to make investments in foreign production activities. *Location* factors are those which arise from different locations having specific advantages for performing different value adding activities. The OLI model suggests the greater the immobile, natural and created factors in foreign locations that firms need, the greater the tendency of firms to engage in outward FDI to exploit these factors. *Internalisation* factors are related to the costs to the firm in engaging in alternative forms of activities from trading to the acquisition of foreign firms. The OLI model posits that if the benefits of internalising markets are greater than the costs involved, a firm will most likely engage in foreign production rather than licensing or exporting.

Internalisation theory offers a similar explanation for international business activity (Buckley & Casson, 1981 and Buckley & Casson, 1998). It explains the motivations, contractual form and locations of overseas activities performed by firms using transaction cost theory. Internalisation theory suggests that the existence of market failures such as information costs, opportunism and asset specificity will direct a firm toward direct investment instead of licensing in any given market. International production activities will occur when the firm internalises these market imperfections across international boundaries. Internalisation (performing the production activities in the host market) will be limited to the point where benefits are greater than, or equal to, transaction costs of managing internal market activities across international borders. Madhok (1998), outlined four key factors that influence a firm's decision to internalize: industry specific factors, region-specific factors, nation-specific factors and firm-specific factors. Internalisation theory suggests foreign activities will typically have three stages: Exporting, Foreign Direct Investment and Licensing. As a firm gains more experience in a host market, it can find or develop suitable organisations for transfer of its production process (Rugman & Verbeke, 1992). The limited capacity of firms to internalise markets has also been used to explain the relative concentration of sales and investments by MNEs in countries closest to their home-base of operations (Rugman & Verbeke, 2003).

Both these theories have specific problems when applied to festivals. The eclectic paradigm model relies on assumptions of rational economic behaviour such as information awareness and processing which do not exist outside of theoretical models (Grossman & Stiglitz, 1980). Only the largest multinationals can realistically come close to exhibiting these conditions in reality (Anastassopoulos, 2003). Internalisation suggests that cost minimization is a key driver when selecting a mode of internationalisation. With festivals, motivations to stage these undertakings in foreign countries often have little to do with costs.

2.6.3.3 The process of internationalisation

There are two main types of theories which attempt to explain the process of internationalisation - behavioural and network theories. Behavioural theories describe the evolution of organisations as a progression of consecutive stages from domestic to international (Johanson & Vahlne, 1977). This evolution is driven by a learning process: knowledge is acquired, integrated and processed by the organisation which results in a change in behaviour. Attitudes and perceptions of management can be critical factors as they impact the means by which knowledge is acquired and processed through an organisation. There are two main behavioural models of internationalisation: the Uppsala or U Model and the Innovation or I model.

The U Model of internationalisation was developed from analysis of Scandinavian firms' export patterns (Johanson & Vahlne, 1977). Inspired by the earlier work of behavioural theorists (Cyert & March, 1963), the model focuses on the acquisition, integration and utilisation of knowledge of foreign markets by management, and relates increasing volumes of international business activity to increasing foreign market knowledge. Innovation related models (Bilkey & Tesar, 1977) also view international expansion as a step-by-step process. However, the theory suggests that the organisational learning process undertaken is similar to when a firm adopts an innovation (Rogers, 1976). Unlike the U Model, innovation models examine pre-export behaviour in order to determine the reason for initiating international activities (Wiedersheim-Paul, Olson, & Welch, 1978). The model proposes that the decision-maker considers the particular export stimuli in conjunction with perceived internal and external factors. Firms may then actively seek exports, wait for a request from a customer, reactivate previous export efforts or refocus attention on the domestic market. After the export decision is made, firms may go through a series of stages from

occasional to sustained export activity which would be driven by a firm's increasing experience in international markets.

Network models of internationalisation are based on a relationship view of business markets (Håkansson, 1982). They suggest that firms form relationships with customers, competitors, suppliers, agents, consultants and public agencies (Johanson & Vahlne, 1990). These relationships then form the basis for exchange between firms which together form a business network. Network models represent a modification of the U Model (Johanson & Mattsson, 1992), because they propose that the driver of international business activity is relationship commitment and not market knowledge. Network and relationship commitments create a platform for learning amongst firms and can generate new knowledge (relationship assets) through interaction (Smilor & Gill, 1986). Relationship assets built between these organisations can then be used to initiate, enhance or expand firm activities.

Unlike U and I models, network models include multiple directions of internationalisation, incorporating inward, outward and horizontal forms of activity. Organisations may seek out international supply relationships, or engage in inward internationalisation (Johanson & Mattsson, 1992). For outward internationalisation, organisations may establish positions in new countries or develop market positions by enhancing existing networks, developing market penetration strategies or coordinating country networks for firm advantage or international integration.

Network theories also take the domestic environment into account. Within international business research, four types of firms have been identified using network theory. They are classified by the degree of internationalisation of the firm versus the internationalisation of the network to which the firm belongs (Johanson & Mattsson 1992). The *early starter* is a firm that enters into international activity when the surrounding network is primarily a domestic one. The *late starter*,

by contrast, enters into foreign activity after internationalisation of the network has occurred. The *lonely international* are highly internationalised firms in primarily domestic networks while the international among others are highly internationalised firms in an international network.

Research on network internationalisation has received significant attention in the last 20 years, with studies examining subcontract relationships (Bell, 1995), inward connections (Welch & Luostarinen, 1993), and the role of networks on independent international market entry (Chetty & Blankenburg Holm, 2000 and Coviello & Munro, 1997). Network research however, has been criticised for not paying attention to the specific details of what exactly is exchanged when firms interact (Nummela, Loane, & Bell, 2006).

Researchers have also identified that is a distinct group of smaller firms who do not follow the incremental path to internationalisation such as those described in studies using behavioural or network theories. These organisations enter external markets rapidly and a significant portion of their sales come from external markets early on. The emergence of these types of firms has been linked to several changes in the global business environment. These included: the practice of outsourcing or subcontracting, which created new opportunities for small firms to sell components and specialized services worldwide (Andersen, 1997); technological innovations, which reduced the cost of transport and communications, making it easier for smaller firms to engage in international business profitably and increased levels of international travel by entrepreneurs and managers, which has allowed smaller firms to acquire a higher level of international experience than was previously possible. These firms were first described as International New Ventures (Oviatt & McDougall, 1994) and then later as Born Globals (Madsen & Servais, 1997). Gabrielsson, Kirpalani, Dimitratos, Solberg, and Zucchella (2008) have identified that these firms display a number of key characteristics which distinguishes them from other firms. Firstly, they

commit to international markets at start-up. Secondly, there is not a big lag between their establishment and export activity. Thirdly, rather than depending on learning from their own activities, much of their organisational learning comes from their channel or network partners. Fourthly, they make investments prior to becoming knowledgeable about markets. Thus, finally, when engaging in exports, these firms will face not only export risks but new product and market risk as well.

International business researchers have also looked to fields outside international business to explain the differences between small firm and large firm internationalisation. For example, International Entrepreneurship research seeks to examine the event-driven nature of entrepreneurship and incorporate the effect of a broad range of influences: environment, firm, entrepreneur along with their alliance partners. These studies look at how key events occur within the life of a business, for example, when it is established, when it initiated or discontinued an international business activity or when there is a change in international business behaviour.

Jones and Coviello (2005) proposed an event-driven, dynamic model of International Entrepreneurship, detailing the evolution of firm behaviour over time, highlighting entrepreneurial and internationalisation events. Their model also incorporates the effect of environmental and organisational factors on firm performance over time. Mathews and Zander (2007) developed an international entrepreneur dynamics framework to analyse the accelerated internationalisation of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) from an internal perspective. They identify key three milestones within entrepreneurial processes: the discovery of new opportunities; the deployment of resources in the exploitation of these opportunities and the engagement with competitors. More recently, Zhang, Ma, and Wang (2012) have combined entrepreneurship and social capital theory to examine what determines the internationalisation of SMEs from China, highlighting how critical

the entrepreneurial attributes of these firms and the social capital embedded in their networks are for their internationalisation.

Despite growing research, there are quite a few issues with these new perspectives. There are definitional problems with Born Globals. Born Globals have been described as firms with an export capacity of 25% or more within the first 3-6 years of establishment, which encompasses a wide variety of firms (Knight & Cavusgil, 1996). The emergence of rapidly internationalising older domestic firms, or “born again” global firms (Bell, McNaughton, & Young, 2001), also makes defining Born Globals difficult. They behave in a similar manner to their newer counterparts, but have spent a long period of time in domestic activity until a change in ownership or customer behaviour led to rapid outward growth. Additionally, if the unit of analysis is shifted from the firm to the individual or management team, their designation as entirely new firms may be called into question. Past research has found that Born Global owners tend to have been previously involved in international business (Sharma & Blomstermo, 2003), and have previous network relationships. This diversity has brought increased complexity and researchers have made calls for unifying frameworks in order to improve understanding of recent internationalisation behaviour (Andersson, 2000; Jones & Coviello, 2005 and Styles & Seymour, 2006). In both Born Global and International Entrepreneurship research, little is known about the rapid internationalisation of these enterprises beyond entry into international markets.

2.6.3.4 Potential for applying international business theory to festival internationalisation

International business theory highlights a number of possibilities for enhancing the understanding of international festivals. Firstly, it can potentially explain the motivations of festival organisers who decide to take their festivals abroad. Secondly, it can bring a new level of detail in exploring

supply chains that festival organisers manage by classifying their activities into a range of modes which can be both inward and outward. Thirdly, it can potentially explain the overall process that a festival follows to become international, which allows researchers and practitioners to understand how a small home-grown cultural festival grows into an international one, highlighting the skills of festival organisers in learning and integrating knowledge (as explained by the U and I models of internationalisation) or building and sustaining relationships (as explained by network models of internationalisation). However, there are some key limitations as well. Firstly, international business theory initially was developed to explain the behaviour of large multinational manufacturing firms – thus many of the assumptions made are not applicable. Festivals are fairly distinctive goods which would mean they may not necessarily have direct domestic competitors, which is often assumed to be a motivator for internationalisation behaviour. Also, despite having attendees figures of well into the millions, festival organisations can be surprisingly small in terms of staff and tend to have little in the way of tangible resources such as production facilities and machinery, making concepts such as economies of scale and cost minimisation irrelevant. Additionally, much of internationalisation theory focuses on market entry. Only the process theories of internationalisation (network theory, especially) pay some attention to how a firm embeds itself in the host market once it embarks on the path to internationalisation. For cultural products, such as festivals, particularly in the post-modern era, which bring together “global, large-scale and local, small-scale cultural enterprises” as part of their productive cycles (Mommas, 2004, p. 509), an understanding of the ongoing process of internationalisation is crucial. Moreover, because festivals mainly produce intangible experiences rather than physical products or even services, often festival product consumption cannot be separated from production. This means the range of internationalisation possibilities that are possible for manufactured goods would not be as applicable to festival products.

Tikkanen (2008) provides one of the few examples of how international business theory can be applied to understanding the internationalisation of a festival. In her paper, the internationalisation process of a Finnish chamber music festival which started in 1970 is studied. The process is described a four stage journey from “local chamber music festival”, “domestic chamber music festival”, “internationally enlarged chamber music festival” and “maturing international chamber music festival”. The elements which are focused on with respect to internationalisation are tourist attendees, international participants, and international media coverage. The study concludes that an international orientation of the key actors within the festival is critical if a festival is to be internationalised.

The internationalisation process of a festival, such as the Trinidad Carnival, which has left its domestic market and is celebrated in a number of overseas markets, is a great deal more complex for three key reasons. Firstly, there is the age of the festival to consider (if one takes the emancipation celebrations on the island of Trinidad as the starting point, it dates back to 1838). Secondly, there is the diversity of the forms celebrated within the festival. Thirdly, the number of overseas markets involved. However, the notion of internationalisation as a process and the importance of key actors are quite applicable to the Trinidad Carnival. Cultural goods, like festivals, as highlighted previously, are meeting places for both global, large-scale and local, small-scale cultural enterprises which suggests an ongoing engagement with international markets. Additionally, due to their highly intangible nature and the lack of direct competition as a motivator, the importance of people or key actors is likely to be far more critical in their internationalisation process than in manufacturing and some service sectors.

2.7 Restatement of Research Objectives

In order to address the complex nature of festival internationalisation for a festival such as the Trinidad Carnival, the following research objectives have been set:

- RO1. To determine how a festival leaves its home country and becomes embedded in a host country
- RO2. To understand how a festival is adapted in the internationalisation process
- RO3. To analyse the ways in which a festival's elements are internationalised
- RO4. To develop a process to describe festival internationalisation

2.8 Conceptual Framework

To guide the investigation into the international dimensions of the Trinidad-style carnival, a conceptual framework was developed to shape the collection and analysis of data using a combination of international business theories and also actor-network theory. Network theories of internationalisation were used to uncover how the key actors within the festival have contributed to the process of internationalisation. The business networks formed by festival organisers and participants, and how their relationship assets were used to initiate or expand their activities were also examined. Network theories were also used to consider the challenges and opportunities involved in festival internationalisation in the new host market. Network theories pay particular attention not only to how networks are used to build international relationships but also to how a firm, once established in a market, enhances its internationalisation efforts. Thus, network theory

not only explains how a firm goes into an international market but also how it uses networks to embed itself in its new host market.

However, as mentioned previously, network theory research has been criticised for not paying attention to specific details of what exactly is exchanged when firms interact, nor is the research explicit about the outputs of specific interactions. Thus the thesis appropriates some aspects of actor-network theory (ANT) to provide additional detail as to specific outcomes of the interactions of network actors in the embedding process over the Notting Hill Carnival's fifty year history. ANT is increasingly being used to study a number of social phenomena, including more recent tourism products such as the Notting Hill Carnival (Van Der Duim & Van Marwijk, 2006). Van der Duim (2007) has proposed the three aspects of the theory which are particularly relevant for the study of tourism phenomenon: the notion of symmetry (that objects are as important as actors or people or, in other words, that what is exchanged is as important as those involved in the exchange), the actions of actors within a network and the process of translation. However, because ANT has been deployed specifically in this thesis to reveal insights about the interaction of actors within networks, only the the two latter aspects were incorporated into the thesis and the third aspect, the process of translation, was given particular focus. The process of translation is at the core of ANT analysis (Callon, 1986 and Latour, 1987) It is a process in which actors align the interests of others with their own. Translation follows three phases:

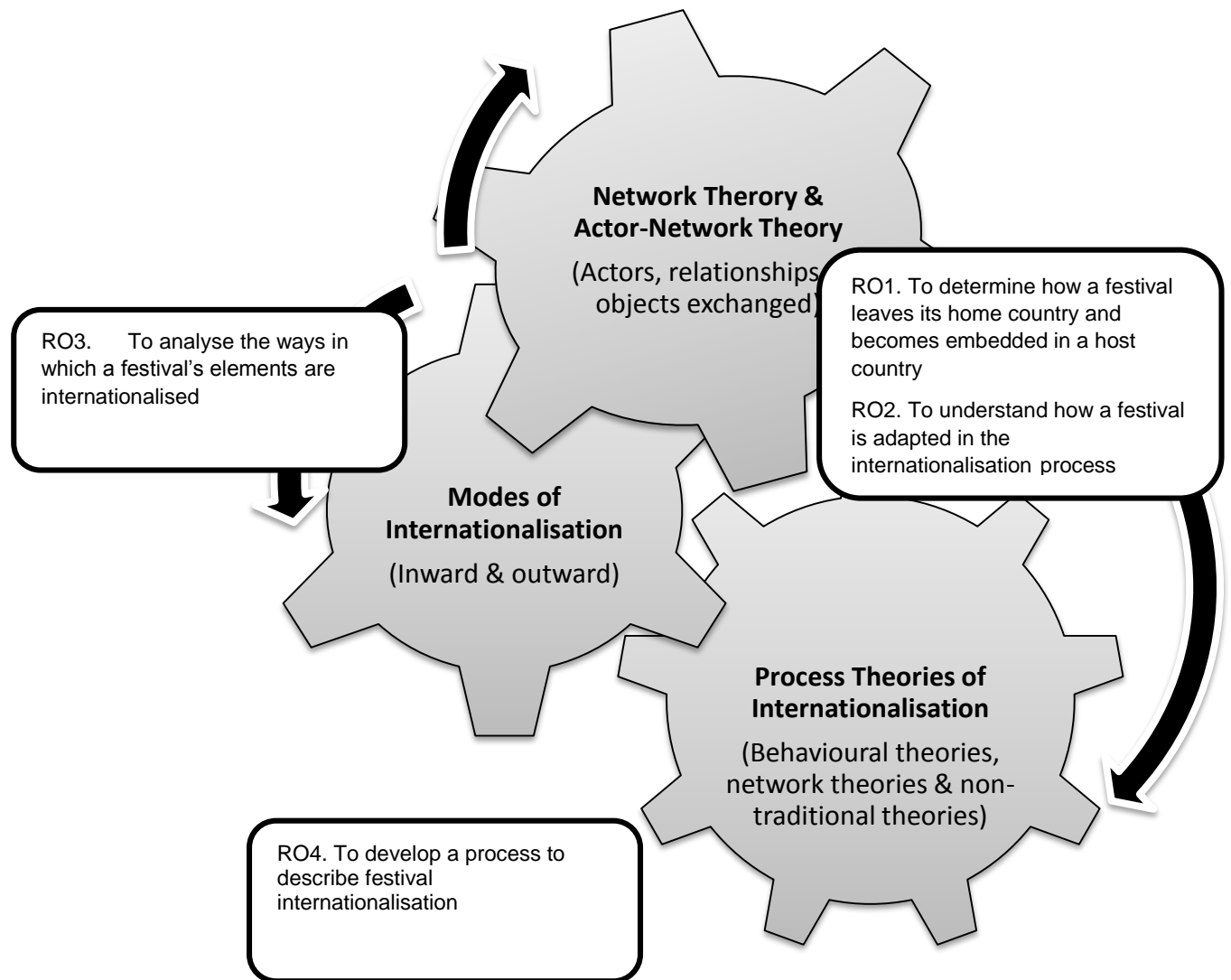
1. A focal actor frames the problem and defines the identities and interests of other actors to be consistent with its own interests.
2. The focal actor defines an Obligatory Passage Point (OPP) under its control that other actors must pass through to achieve their interests (Callon, 1986).
3. The OPP is defined and others may have to overcome obstacles to pass through it (Sidorova & Sarker, 2000).

Moreover, within the thesis, the concept of an obligatory passage point was seen to be much more fluid and permeable than it is described within research which features ANT analysis (see for example, Callon, 1986a and Callon, 1986b). The staging of festivals, as opposed to the organisation of, for example, fishing and electric car manufacture, is facilitated mainly by the cooperation of volunteers which makes the maintaining of obstacles that either prohibit behaviours or require that certain standards be upheld somewhat more difficult.

The modes of internationalisation as described by Hill (1999) were used to analyse the ways in which festival elements are internationalised. Process theories, which include network theory and also behavioural theories and non-traditional explanations of internationalisation, were also interrogated to consider whether there is a process by which festivals such as the Notting Hill Carnival internationalise. See Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4

Conceptual framework and research objectives



2.9 Summary

This chapter has highlighted the growing importance of festival internationalisation within academic literature. It has reviewed a number of publications from the fields of tourism, geography, cultural, ethnic, racial and identity studies which attest to the growing academic

interest in the development of festivals for international markets. These studies highlight a number of opportunities and challenges for festival organisers. Tourism researchers have described a number of positive impacts of festival tourism, such as increased revenue for the hosting community from tourists, increased business opportunities and employment, and the rebranding of declining towns and cities. They have also explored the difficulties in realising these benefits, as even when the benefits are achieved, they can be overshadowed by unintended negative consequences, such as community alienation, environmental damage and cultural commodification. In geography-based studies, which discuss the faces, places and spaces involved in festival internationalisation, there has been a similar concern with balancing the positives of regeneration and urban renewal with negatives, such as the marginalisation of community groups. Moreover, within cultural, racial/ethnic and identity studies, there have also recently been an increasing number of articles which focus on the impacts of commercialisation (which very often involves internationalisation) on festivals. However, none of these perspectives adequately address the specific managerial challenges of festival internationalisation.

Generally, there is a lack of research which focuses on the economic, managerial and operational aspects of Trinidad-style carnivals. There are even fewer studies which focus specifically on the organisers of these festivals. This gap has not, however, prevented some researchers from being very critical of the entrepreneurial and managerial skills of these individuals.

With the growing interest in festivals and, more specifically, the internationalisation of festivals, a theoretically-informed study on the complexity of festival internationalisation is needed to provide a deeper understanding of their managerial challenges. International business theory as a relatively mature discipline has been used in this thesis to provide this understanding. In so doing, this thesis not only provides a fresh perspective to viewing international festivals but also fills a

gap in international business literature, as cultural goods have generally been ignored by this discipline. Tikkanen (2008) provides one of the few examples of how international business theory could be applied to aid in the understanding of festival internationalisation. However, her focus is on tourism, participants and media, which is quite similar to festival tourism research done previously. The focus of this thesis is the Trinidad-style carnival which provides the opportunity to study a complex network of carnivals, multiple modes of internationalisation and a possible process of festival internationalisation that can be applied to other Diaspora festivals, such as St. Patrick's Day and Oktoberfest and other festivals, which leave their country of origin and are celebrated overseas. Although there are also limitations with applying international business theory to festivals because some of the key assumptions that are made do not hold true for cultural goods, the discipline offers great potential to reveal new insights into festival internationalisation.

Chapter 3 - The “Trinidad-style” Carnival Phenomenon

3.1 Introduction

Virtually every continent of the world has carnival celebrations, many of them being remarkably similar in content, typically a public celebration or parade which involves elements of circus, the wearing of costumes and public street parties. Additionally, many of these celebrations are held at the same time, just prior to the beginning to the Roman Catholic period of Lent. Two of the most popular of these types of carnivals are the North American Mardi Gras celebrated in New Orleans and the Brazilian Carnaval in Rio de Janeiro. Like these very famous celebrations, the roots of the Trinidad Carnival can be attributed to European settlers (French, in the case of Trinidad) whose carnival traditions can be traced to the folk festivities of the Renaissance and Middle-Ages such as those described by Bakhtin (1984).

Many aspects of these European carnivals have been attributed to ancient pagan rituals that share the philosophy of opposites such as the Greek Dionysian festivals and the Roman Saturnalia (Shohat & Stam, 1994). The former were spring or harvest feasts celebrated at the end of the winter, held in honour of Dionysus, also known in Latin as Bacchus, the Greek god of wine, excess and sensual pleasure (Martinez & Aldana, 1994), whereas the latter is associated with the Roman new year festival of the Kalends of January, which was celebrated by the relaxation of rules of conduct and the inversion of customary social status (Cowley, 1991). It has been suggested that it is the accommodation of these pagan rituals by Christianity (specifically, the Roman Catholic Church) that has led to carnivals evolving into a last celebration of freedom and excess before the coming of Lent, which is a period of abstinence and penitence (Bishop, 1991). Thus the Trinidadian Carnival, like many carnivals throughout Europe, the Americas and even India and Africa, continues to bear this striking similarity.

This thesis examines the internationalisation of the Trinidad Carnival and is concerned with a particular sub-set of carnival traditions which have been described in the literature as 'Trinidad-style' (Edmondson, 1999). This chapter seeks to outline what distinguishes Trinidad-style carnivals from other types of carnival traditions, highlighting the particular cultural forms which are displayed during the celebrations and the elements which make up the festival programme. It also demonstrates the adaptability of the festival organisers behind the internationalisation of Trinidad-style carnivals, as for each of the countries in which a Trinidad-style carnival has been established, it has been adapted for that host population. Additionally, the chapter also offers an original contribution by providing a definition and typology of Trinidad-style carnivals. In so doing, it identifies Trinidad-style carnivals as distinct cultural exports by identifying a specific set of components and an overall configuration of activities, which they all share.

3.2 Trinidad-style Carnivals Defined

Trinidad is often described as the 'Mecca' of all carnivals (Riggio, 1998; Scher, 2003 and Riggio, 2004a). This is not strictly true of course, because as mentioned previously, there are cities throughout Europe, the Americas and even in India and Africa which have carnival traditions and they have no relation to the celebrations in Trinidad. However, a number of carnivals throughout the Caribbean, North America and Europe have been established that have been described as 'Trinidad-style' (de Lendesma & Popplewell, 2000; Riggio, 2004b and Jelly-Schapiro, 2005); which can be directly linked to the Trinidad Carnival. Typically, these carnivals would have been originally established by Trinidadian immigrants, seeking to replicate the Trinidad Carnival in their new homelands (Kazinitz, 1992 and Trotman, 2005). Others, particularly in the Caribbean, were established as tourism products by governments seeking to cash in on the popularity of the

Trinidad-style carnival formula, and tend to have been started after 1970 when these types of celebrations were firmly established in the United Kingdom and North America (Edmondson, 1999). A distinguishing feature of Trinidad-style carnivals (outside of Trinidad) is that they are held outside of the pre-Lenten period, either for practical reasons (for example, those held in countries with temperate climates take place during summer months) or because they were used to reinvent and/or popularise existing festivals and thus these celebrations are held when the pre-existing festivals would have occurred.

Additionally, there is considerable variability among these festivals as to the degree to which they have implemented the Trinidadian festival programme. See Table 3.1. The most faithful to the Trinidadian formula of Trinidad-style masquerade, calypso and steel pan arranged into a programme of activities featuring a series of competitions patterned after those in Trinidad, exist in the carnivals which were established by Trinidadian immigrants. Table 3.2 provides one such example. The ones which least resemble the Trinidad Carnival tend to take place in those countries which have added elements of the Trinidad Carnival to a pre-existing festival. Table 3.3 shows the programme of an event of this type.

Table 3.1

The Trinidad Carnival Festival Programme Highlights (held in February or March)

Days before Carnival	Activities
2 days before (also known as Carnival Saturday)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Junior Parade of the Bands takes place which is a competition for children parading in costume. • The National Panorama finals take place, which is a competition for adult steel pan players.
1 day before (also known as Carnival Sunday)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Dimanche Gras takes place which features a masquerade competition in which Kings and Queens of Carnival are crowned as well as a Calypso Monarch. This decision is reached after Calypso Monarch finalists each sing.
Carnival Monday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The opening of carnival starts with J'Ouvert celebrations commencing at around 2:00am, which feature costumed masqueraders reminiscent of the 'forbidden bacchanal' of the nineteenth century in Trinidad.
Carnival Tuesday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Parade of the Bands takes place. Masquerade bands accompanied by steel bands, brass bands and mobile sound systems parade through the streets of Port-of-Spain to the Queen's Park Savannah, where they will display their costumes to awaiting spectators and judges. It is through this process the Band of the Year is chosen, as well as the Road March of the Year (the 'Road March' is the calypso which is played by steel bands, brass bands and sound systems the most times on Carnival Tuesday). When the last masquerade band leaves the Savannah at around 7:00pm, the Las Lap begins, which is accompanied by spontaneous drinking and dancing in the streets until 12:00am when the carnival ends and Ash Wednesday begins.

Source: Adapted from van Koningsbruggen (1997)

Table 3.2

The West Indian American Labor Day Parade in New York Festival Programme Highlights (held in August)

Days before Carnival	Activities
4 days before (Thursday)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caribbean Woodstock, an event introduced in 2013 which combines costumes, competition, steel pan, and musicians performing zouk, latin, hip hop, kompa, soca and reggae.
3 days before (Friday)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brass Fest, a Brass Band Competition which features popular calypso and soca artistes from the Caribbean.
2 days before (Saturday, also known as “Family Day”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Panorama, a competition of steel pans takes place. • Junior Carnival and Parade Day happens, an event in which thousands of children and families enjoy music and “jump-up” while competing in their own costumed parade.
1 day before (Carnival Sunday)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An event called Dimanche Gras or Fat Sunday: All-Star Steel Bands takes place which combines both steel pan performances with a Carnival King & Queen costumed competition.
Carnival Monday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The J'Ouvert pre-dawn march takes place which precedes the main costumed parade. • The West Indian Caribbean American Labor Day Parade takes place, which is a costumed parade featuring adults in the costumed masquerade competition.

Adapted from: WIADCAINC (2014)

Table 3.3

The Crop Over in Barbados Festival Programme Highlights (held in Early August)

Days before Carnival	Activities
3 days before (Friday)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emancipation Day Walk is held. It is a walk from Independence Square in Bridgetown to the Heritage Village at the Crop Over Bridgetown Market on the Spring Garden Highway. At the Heritage Village, there is also a wreath-laying ceremony as a tribute to African ancestors. • Pic-O-De Crop Finals is staged. This is the finale of the annual Calypso Competition. Calypso artists each perform two calypsos. Fans scream and dance in the aisles and sometimes on their seats. This is said to be the most 'lookedforwardto' event of Crop Over. • Bridgetown Market is opened. This is a huge street fair which continues until Koodooment Day or the parade of the bands, with vendors of all kinds selling their wares. • Foreday Morning Jam takes place, an event which is evocative of <i>J'Ouvert</i> in which thousands of revellers dance behind music trucks in the early hours of the morning. It is also known as 'Mud Mas' and revellers daub themselves with paint and mud and do their best to similarly daub their friends • Visual Arts Exhibition is opened. It showcases the best of entries from the public into the annual Crop Over Fine Arts and Fine Crafts competitions and is open to Barbadians 18 years and over.
1 day before (Sunday)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohobblopot, is staged, which is a carnival-like show in which members of the Kadooment or masquerade bands display their costumes. There is also dancing and music.
Carnival Monday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grand Kadooment happens. This is the adult carnival parade features large bands with members dressed in elaborate costumes to depict various themes. Masquerade designers compete on this day for the coveted Designer of the Year prize.

Source: Adapted from AXSESCI (2014)

From Table 3.1 it can be seen that the Trinidad Carnival is very clearly a celebration of its indigenous art forms of calypso and steel pan (described further in sections 3.5.2 and 3.5.3), and it is also in some ways a commemoration of the island's history as a plantation economy (further details are found in section 3.4). The French names for events such as Dimanche Gras (translated as Fat Sunday) and J'Ouvert (pronounced jouvay, which means day break) persist, linking the contemporary celebrations to the practices of French plantation owners centuries earlier on the island.

Table 3.2 depicts the programme of the West Indian American Labor Day Parade (formerly known as Labor Day or Labor Day Carnival). This started off as pre-Lenten indoor celebrations held by Trinidadian immigrants to Harlem, New York in the 1920s, which then evolved into a parade held at Labor Day weekend (Nunley, Bettelheim, & Bridges, 1988). This parade was started in 1947 and remains very faithful to the Trinidad Carnival format, featuring a Panorama, J'Ouvert celebrations and a Dimanche Gras. However, it also reflects the culture of the destination in which it is hosted with the addition of new events such as the Caribbean Woodstock – evoking an American event, Woodstock, also held in New York as a celebration of peace and music.

In Table 3.3, the programme of Crop Over is shown. The Crop Over festival originated in the 1780s and was revived as a Trinidad-style carnival by the Barbados government (Dann & Potter, 2001 and Meredith, 2003). The programme, like the Trinidad Carnival, is also a celebration of Trinidad's indigenous art forms but with some important alterations. For example, a Panorama is not included in the main festival programme – although there are performances devoted to the steel pan some weeks before. Instead, the festival includes a Visual Arts Exhibition as one of its highlight events. Additionally, there are no French names used for the events, instead Barbadian dialect and colloquialisms have been used. The J'Ouvert type celebration has been renamed “Foreday Morning Jam” and the highlight show, which in Trinidad is known as Dimanche Gras, is

called “Pic-O-De Crop”. The word 'cohobblopot' ,which is a Barbadian colloquial expression meaning “a stew of a variety of ingredients”, is also used to describe one of the events which includes a mixture of art forms from dance to calypso and soca music to a display of costumes (Caribbeanaffairsinc, n.d.).

Thus, a broad definition for Trinidad-style carnivals can be given as celebrations which involve masquerade, calypso and steel pan and which feature a series of competitions, patterned after those existing in Trinidad. They can also be divided into primarily three categories:

1. Immigrant Initiated Celebrations – Trinidad-style Carnivals established by Trinidadian immigrants (often joined with other Caribbean immigrants) in their new countries of abode which closely resemble the original Trinidad Carnival.
2. Fusion Festivals – Trinidad-style carnivals which were fused with previously existing events to re-establish, revitalise or enhance them in some way.
3. Invented Spectacles – Trinidad-style Carnivals established by local or national government agencies or private enthusiasts for their tourism and/or social benefits, often with the help of carnival consultants (they are not attached either to a Trinidadian immigrant population or any pre-existing indigenous festival).

More recently, there has also been the phenomenon of Trinidad-style carnivals going to inspire other carnivals outside their host country or host city of origin, giving rise to a fourth category of celebration:

4. Second generation Trinidad-style carnivals - these are carnival celebrations that are based on a Trinidad-style carnival not the Trinidad Carnival itself and are usually initiated by a mix of Caribbean immigrants.

It should be noted that quite a few of these Trinidad-style carnivals do not fit neatly into just one category. For example, the Crop Over in Barbados was established by fusing elements of the Trinidad Carnival with the previously discontinued Crop Over Festival and it is, at the same time, an initiative of the Barbados Government and specifically developed as a tourism product. Likewise, the Notting Hill Carnival started off as a “Fusion Festival” and eventually became an event that was managed by Trinidadian and other Caribbean immigrants, which eventually very closely resembled the Trinidad Carnival. Table 3.4 provides a listing of some of the more popular Trinidad-style carnivals classified using the previously mentioned categories.

The West Indian American Labor Day Parade was the first Trinidad-style carnival to be celebrated outside of the Caribbean. It has been described previously as the largest of the Trinidad-style carnivals with over 3 million visitors being recorded as attending at one point (Trotman, 2005). Although not specifically recognised on festival websites, Labor Day celebrations have been cited as the source of inspiration for the many Trinidad-style carnivals that were later established in the United States (Mason, 1998). Hence, with a few exceptions, the majority of these carnivals have been classified as second-generation Trinidad-style since both their format and organisation seem to be closely based on the West Indian American Labor Day Parade ethos and they were established sometime after that event. These carnivals are devoted to celebrating a “West Indian American” or “Caribbean American” identity and also tend to be organised by groups of Caribbean people rather than a Trinidadian leadership.

In Canada, a similar pattern can also be observed. After Toronto’s Caribana became established, carnivals bearing similar names were developed in other Canadian cities. Additionally, like Caribana which came first, the later established Canadian Trinidad-style carnivals are all described as celebrations of Caribbean culture and are all run by Caribbean volunteer groups.

Likewise, in the United Kingdom (UK), although there are a few notable exceptions, most of the Trinidad-style carnivals taking place there are very similar to the Notting Hill Carnival which was established, the earliest in 1964. In the UK, Trinidad-style carnival celebrations are typically celebrations of Afro-Caribbean culture. These carnivals also have a distinct Jamaican influence. UK Trinidad-style carnivals are the only Trinidad-style carnivals which feature static sound systems as a cultural form, a practice started by Jamaican DJs living in the UK in 1975 (Cohen, 1980). The Notting Hill Carnival is also the only Trinidad-style carnival outside of the Caribbean that has gone on to inspire the establishment of other Trinidad-style carnivals outside of its host country. German festival organisers of the Carnivals of Cultures, in particular, cite the Notting Hill Carnival as a key influence (OCC, n.d. and Dresing, n.d.)

Table 3.4

Trinidad-style Carnivals Worldwide by Type (continued on next page)

Location, Name	Date est.	Type	Origins
NORTH AMERICA			
United States of America			
New York, West Indian American Parade Day	1947	1	Pre-Lenten indoor celebrations held by Trinidadian immigrants to New York, which evolved into a parade held at Labour Day weekend (Nunley & Bettelheim, 1988). Previously known as Labor Day.
Hartford, Greater Hartford West Indian Parade	1962	4	Immigrants from Trinidad and Jamaica established a Trinidad-style carnival to celebrate the independence of Trinidad and Jamaica (both declared independence in 1962) (WIICHartford.org., n.d.).
Boston, Boston Carnival	1973	1	A parade established by a Trinidadian immigrant in Boston which takes place during Labor Day weekend (Smith, 2000).
Detroit, Detroit Caribbean	1975	4	Established by Caribbean immigrants to Detroit to share ethnicity and share their culture with others. This "carival" is held the second weekend in August for three days (CCCO, 2013).
Int'l Festival & Parade Baltimore, Baltimore Carnival	1981	4	Established by the Caribbean American Carnival Association of Baltimore, Inc. to promote the cultural ideals of all Caribbean nations within the United States. Membership is open to all (CACABI, n.d.).
Miami, Miami Broward One Carnival	1984	1	Trinidadian immigrants to Miami established a Trinidad-style Carnival, which was combined in 2009 with a competing carnival called Broward Caribbean Carnival established in 2003 (Congdon & Bucuvalas, 2006).
Atlanta, Atlanta Caribbean Carnival	1988	4	A group of Caribbean immigrants from several islands come together to familiarise the metro Atlanta community with Caribbean culture by presenting a Trinidad-style carnival (TOACC, n.d.).
Washington D.C., D.C. Caribbean Carnival	1993	4	The DC Caribbean Carnival, Inc. which is open to individuals of Caribbean origin or descent organised this carnival which was then amalgamated with the Baltimore Carnival in 2013 (BWOCC, 2013).
Baltimore, Baltimore/ Washington One Caribbean Carnival	2013	4	The DC Caribbean Carnival was combined with Baltimore's celebration for the first time in July 2013. This was due in large part to the latter festival's financial problems (Yates, 2012)
Canada			
Toronto, Scotia Caribbean Carnival	1967	1	It was intended as a one-time 'gift' to the city of Toronto for its centennial celebrations from the West Indian community but was so successful it became an annual event (Phillip, 2007). It was formerly known as Caribana.
Montreal, Carifesta	1974	4	This parade was set up by the Caribbean Cultural Festivities Association. It was formerly known as Carifete (CBCNews, 2011).
Calgary, Carifest	1981	4	The Caribbean Community Council of Calgary (CCC) organizes Carifest as part of its mandate. The Council was incorporated under the Alberta Societies Act in 1981 (Calgary Carifest, 2013).
Ottawa, Fete-Caribe	1994	4	Started by the Ottawa-Caribbean Cultural Committee (O.C.C.C), a membership based, non-profit group of local volunteers (Fete-Caribe, n.d.)

Table 3.4

Trinidad-style Carnivals Worldwide by Type (continued on next page)

EUROPE			
<i>United Kingdom</i>			
London, Notting Hill Carnival	1964	2	Started when a British social worker added a steel band to the Notting Hill Festival, which went on to become a Trinidad-style carnival, (Holder, cited by Bowdin et al., 2006). In 1975 the event became much larger by adding Jamaican sound systems and stalls (Cohen, 1980).
Leeds, Leeds West Indian Carnival	1967	4	Started by immigrants to Leeds from the island of St. Kitts (Connor & Farrar, 2004).
Bristol, St. Paul's Afrikan Caribbean Carnival	1967	2	Started by members of St. Paul's Afro-Caribbean, Asian and European community. In 1975 a Trinidadian took leadership and then the Carnival took on more Trinidadian-style elements and also sound systems (Fielding, n.d.).
Manchester, Caribbean Carnival Manchester	1972	1	A group of mostly St Kitts & Nevis/Trinidadian immigrants decided to throw an impromptu carnival procession through the streets of their Manchester neighbourhood (CCM, n.d).
Derby, Derby Caribbean Carnival	1975	4	Started as a small festival at Moorways Sports Centre in 1975, when a worker from Caribbean Focus joined the organisers and it expanded into a bigger event, including Trinidadian elements and sound systems (EMCCAN, 2013).
Luton, Luton International Carnival	1976	4	Started as a Victorian street fair put on as part of the Borough's centenary celebrations which later went on to become a Trinidad-style carnival incorporating international elements (BBC, 2006).
Huddersfield, Huddersfield Carnival	1984	4	Started as a single float in the Lord Mayor's parade, then drew inspiration from Caribbean carnivals to become a Trinidad-style Carnival, also incorporating other elements such as sound systems and food stalls (HACCT, 2013).
Birmingham, Birmingham International Carnival	1984	4	Started as the Handsworth Carnival to provide entertainment for Afro-Caribbean people in the area, in 1991 it became the Birmingham International Carnival (Taylor, 1991 cited by Hall, 2001)
Leicester, Leicester Caribbean Carnival	1985	4	Started by the Caribbean community in Leicester to keep the cultural traditions of the Caribbean alive (Socanews, n.d.).
Coventry, Coventry	1991	4	Started as a gathering of Caribbean families and friends, which later expanded into a full-fledged Trinidad-style Carnival, which incorporated additional elements such as reggae (Fresh Enterprise Association, n.d.)
Caribbean Festival Stoke-on-Trent, Six Towns	1998	4	Started by the Afro-Caribbean community, and run up until recently by the North Staffordshire African Caribbean Association (Black History Britain, n.d.).
One City Carnival			
Liverpool, Liverpool International Carnival	2004	4	A carnival spectacle professionally produced by Brouhaha International (Brouhaha International, 2013).

The Netherlands			
Rotterdam, Zommer Carnival	1984	4	Started by immigrants to Rotterdam from Aruba and Curaco who wanted to create a carnival to remind them of the carnival at home. Notting Hill is also cited as an influence (Alferink, 2012).
Germany			
Berlin, Carnival of Cultures	1996	3	The former Mayor of Berlin and the Commissioner of Foreign Affairs established the Werkstatt der Kulturen that launched the first event and continues to organise this carnival (OCC, n.d.)
Bielefeld, Carnival of Cultures	1997	3	Taking its inspiration from the Notting Hill Carnival, a team comprised of Cultural Affairs Bielefeld, World Bielefeld and Shademakers (a UK production company) established this event (Dresing, n.d.) .
AFRICA			
Nigeria			
Calabar, Carnival Calabar	2005	3	Initiated by the Cross River State government, where Calabar is situated. The event is managed by The Cross River State Carnival Commission (Esu & Arrey, 2009a). It is based on the original Trinidad Carnival and has been added to the Calabar Festival.
THE CARIBBEAN			
Aruba, Aruba Carnival			
Aruba, Aruba Carnival	1940s	1	Started by Trinidad immigrants to the island who settled there to work after the WW2 (Razak, 2007).
St. Thomas, St. Thomas Carnival	1952	3	Launched by a former radio personality and politician Ron de Lugo who revived Carnival celebrations similar those in Trinidad on the island (VInow.com, 2013).
Antigua, Antigua Carnival	1957	3	The Antiguan government launched a Trinidad carnival-inspired event as a tourism product and also to commemorate the end of slavery (Manning, 1983).
St. Kitts, St. Kitts & Nevis National Carnival	1957	3	A committee of volunteers launched this carnival, they were joined by Major Leonard Alphonso, a Chief of Police from Trinidad who became actively involved in the early 1960s. Recently, concerns were raised about the carnival being too Trinidad-style (Morton-Hanley, n.d.).
St. Maarten, St. Maarten Carnival	1970	3	After observing the growing popular of festivities on the island, a government appointed committee with the help of private businesses launched a Trinidad-style Carnival after a fact-finding visit to St. Thomas (St. Maarten Carnival Foundation, 2009).
Anguilla, Anguilla Summer Festival	1974	3	The wife of the then Head of State put forward the idea it would be beneficial for Anguilla to have a Trinidad-style carnival. It is also suggested it was because she was Trinidadian and she was missing Trinidad Carnival (Caribbeanchoice.com Inc., n.d.).
Barbados, Crop Over	1976	2	The Crop Over festival which originated in the 1780s was revived as a Trinidad-style carnival by the Barbados government (Dann & Potter, 2001 and Meredith, 2003).
Jamaica, Bacchanal Jamaica	1990	3	Established by Byron Lee, a Jamaican calypsonian and frequent visitor to Trinidad and the promoters of the Orange Carnival, a private Trinidad-style carnival party (Edmondson, 1999).

Trinidad-style carnivals only spread to other Caribbean islands long after New York's early pre-Lenten celebrations in Harlem in the 1920s. The first Caribbean island to adopt a Trinidad-style carnival was Aruba in the late 1940s, with quite a few being started after 1970. In the Caribbean, Trinidad-style carnivals were established as national products, with almost all of them including the name of the country in the name of the carnival.

One of the most recently established Trinidad-style carnivals is the Carnival Calabar in Nigeria, which is a celebration of African culture and combines Trinidadian and African cultural forms. This event is also a national tourism product.

3.3 A Note on the Term “Caribbean-style Carnival”

The term ‘Caribbean-style carnival’ is also used interchangeably with Trinidad-style carnival (see Toney, 1998, Nurse, 1999 and Connor & Farrar, 2004) to describe carnivals that are “in large part modelled after the one found in Trinidad” (Nurse, 1999, p. 661), containing the ingredients of “ole mas, steel-pan, calypso” (Saunders, 2003, p. 99). Why then is the term Caribbean-style carnival used to describe celebrations patterned after the Trinidad Carnival rather than Trinidad-style carnival? The term Caribbean-style carnival is most frequently used to refer to carnivals taking place in Europe and North America, which have been used very effectively to draw attention to the West Indian migrant community and to the societies from which these migrants came. As Toney (1998, p.88) observes, West Indians all over the world “benefit from the financial and political consequences of what is perceived to be a highly successful attempt to market culture and build an integrated community”. This is especially true for the most famous of these celebrations – New York's Labor Day celebrations, London's Notting Hill Carnival and Toronto's Caribana. Thus the term, rather than reflecting the origins of the festival, seems to originate from the use of the festival as a means

identifying and highlighting the Caribbean Diaspora by various stakeholders. Toney (1998) highlights the following groups that have sought to do this:

1. Politicians seeking to garner block votes from Caribbean communities.
2. Big business seeking to advertise their products and services.
3. Caribbean entrepreneurs, which include Caribbean music artists as well as sellers of Caribbean foods and arts and crafts, seeking Caribbean markets for Caribbean products.

Another reason for the use of the term Caribbean-style is because of confusion concerning the roots of the Trinidad Carnival and the cultural forms that it celebrates. One of the misconceptions that still persists, is that calypso and steel pan music originate from a group of Caribbean islands or islands such as Jamaica or even Barbados which may be more widely known than Trinidad. However, by examining the history of the Trinidad Carnival, it becomes clear the cultural forms, and festival programme that distinguish Trinidad-style carnivals are inextricably linked to that island's past.

3.4 The Origins of Trinidad-Style Carnivals

Although it is widely believed that Carnival in Trinidad was first celebrated in 1834 when former slaves took to the streets to celebrate their emancipation (Socialist Worker, n.d.), it was celebrated decades before this date on the island. However, prior to emancipation, Carnival celebrations were mainly celebrated by European slave owners and, to a lesser extent, free individuals with a mix of European and African heritage. The festival originated from French immigrants who were attracted to Trinidad due to liberal immigration policies introduced by Spanish colonisers. At the time, Charles II of Spain had become very concerned about the "state of his colonies" (Hill, 1997, p. 6) and Trinidad was no exception, as its population was dwindling, both in terms of White Spanish settlers and also

the native Amerindians who were the main source of labour on the island. A census of the population taken on the island in 1783 revealed there were just 2,681 people living there. See Table 3.5.

Table 3.5

Population Census of Trinidad in 1783

White	Coloured	Slave	Indian	Total
126	245	310	2000	2681

Source: Hill, 1997, p.7

The Spanish recognised that Spain was missing out on the “benefits of sugar cane cultivation” (Liverpool, 2001, p. 29) because of the lack of manpower available in Trinidad. Thus, after consultation with French plantation owners in the neighbouring islands, the Cedula de Polacion of 1783 was devised. This document offered French plantation owners the opportunity to immigrate to Trinidad along with their slaves, where they would be offered land grants, tax concessions and the protection of the Spanish government. The only conditions were that they be Catholic and pledge allegiance to the King of Spain.

Although the exact date, when carnival celebrations began on the island of Trinidad is not known, these practices only began after the arrival of the French (Hill, 1997). The early celebrations dating back to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were very much upper class affairs. Balls, concerts, dinners and hunting parties accompanied by music, dance, fun and pranks were their main ingredients (van Koningsbruggen, 1997). A report in the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* of February 16, 1831, cited by Hill (1997), observed that the attendees of an early Port-of-Spain Carnival ball included Swiss damsels, French marquises, English noblemen, grooms, priests and friars.

Carnival was also a period in which the slaves were shown goodwill by the plantation owners and allowed diversion from their labours. Slaves attached to estates “...were sometimes invited to hold their own revels in front of, or in a room within, the master’s house” (Hill, 1997, p. 11). These early slave celebrations paved the way for the infusion of distinctly African traditions into the Trinidad Carnival. Liverpool (2001, p.57) contends that the festival shares African and French roots, as well as Spanish and English elements, brought together through an acculturation process which gives it an “individual fervour and flavour”.

This individual fervour and flavour is especially evident in some of the events that appear on the festival programmes of Trinidad-style carnivals. J’Ouvert and Dimanche Gras are events which are clearly the consequence of the interactions between Trinidad’s French and African populations. The names of the events are French but the art forms displayed within them are strongly influenced by former African slaves (further details on these art forms are provided in sections 3.5.2 and 3.5.3). Events such as the Panorama and the Calypso Monarch, in contrast, can be traced to a mix of British and African influences not only because the names of the events are in English but also because the development of the art forms displayed at these contests represent the response of former African slaves to specific British colonial legislation (more on this in section 3.5.3).

Whereas many countries which have Trinidad-style carnivals have not kept all the traditional events such as J’Ouvert, Dimanche Gras, Panorama and the Calypso Monarch on their programmes, most will have two or three of them featured. In the United States for example, events such as the Panorama and J’Ouvert have proved especially popular (see for example, WIADCAINC, 2014). In the Caribbean, the Calypso Monarch tends to be a part of many Trinidad-style carnivals (see for example, National Festival Office, n.d. and Anguilla Summer Festival, 2014), whereas in Europe and North America this event has typically been replaced by a concert or festival featuring a mix of musical genres.

3.5 The Cultural Forms of Trinidad-Style Carnivals

Trinidad-style carnivals possess three distinct cultural forms which distinguish these carnivals from other types. These are a distinct form of Trinidad-style masquerade, calypso and steel pan. Masquerade is the oldest of the traditions as these were imported practices from Europe and introduced to Trinidad by the French plantation owners but heavily influenced by the practices of the former African slaves. Calypso is next oldest art form. It was developed during slavery by the African slaves of the French plantation owners. These songs were originally sung in French patois, spoken by the African slaves and were sometimes sung to mock and satirise the plantation owners. The steel pan was invented fairly recently by comparison, as steel pan music was only widely played in Trinidad after 1945 (Dudley, 2001).

3.5.1 Trinidad-style Masquerade

Trinidad's early masquerade traditions developed during slavery were very much characterised by the exchange of roles between the slave masters and their slaves (van Koningsbruggen, 1997). Hill (1997) cites an anonymous report in the Port-of-Spain Gazette (Trinidad's capital city) which describes the favourite costumes of ladies (typically the wives of plantation owners) as the "graceful and costly 'mulatress'", and the favourite costumes of gentlemen (typically plantation owners) as that of the "garden Negro or Black field slave". In the former case, the portrayal of the mulatress or mulatto-maid character (based on female slaves who were the off spring of slave masters and slave mothers, and typically engaged in domestic work) allowed White women to temporarily assume the identity of the mistresses their husbands found so alluring (Johnson, 1983, cited by Brown, 1990). In the latter case, White men dressed as Black field slaves and blackened their bodies with black

varnish as part of the portrayal (Hill, 1997). After emancipation in 1834, street parades by masked revellers were dominated by freed slaves, as the White elite on the island withdrew to their residences and marked the festivities with masked balls instead (van Koningsbruggen, 1997). During this period, the attitudes of the White elite toward street masquerade changed dramatically, as former slaves took to the streets imitating the practices of their former slave masters in a “double exchange of roles” (van Koningsbruggen 1997, p. 67). Hill (1997, p. 24) cites the reports of Charles Day which recount a gang of almost naked revellers, consisting of former slaves, covered with black varnish portraying their former slave masters’ portrayals of Black field slaves in an early street parade.

During this period, freed slaves who formed a new working-class on the island, developed their own practices which often criticised and satirised the elite and middle-classes. For example, they staged Dame Lorraines (translated as fashionable lady) which were performances that mocked their former masters’ behaviours and eccentricities. New masquerades were also developed such as the Borokit (from the Spanish borriquito, “little donkey”) and Wild Indians (Hill, 1997). Dame Lorraines were eventually outlawed due to increasing pressure from White elites responding to the violent and rebellious actions of the freed slaves participating in these performances. Costumes such as the Borokit, and Wild Indians are seen less frequently in the contemporary Parade of the Bands but they continue to be a part of ‘J’Ouvert’. J’Ouvert, which takes place from 2:00am on Carnival Monday in Trinidad, is an event in which ‘ole mas’ or older masquerade forms are very dominant. These celebrations also feature satiric performances, typically mocking politicians, world and business leaders and/or celebrities, reminiscent of the outlawed Dame Lorraines. Older masquerade forms can also be seen at Trinidad-style carnival celebrations in which J’Ouvert forms part of the festival programme. See Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1

*Modern-Day Blackened Male Masqueraders in the West Indian American Labor Day Parade
J'Ouvert Celebrations in New York*



Source: Keith (2007)

It is also during the post-slavery period that the early masquerade band structure was developed through the establishment of Carnival Tents in the former slave yards or settlements. These tents were set up like mock courts with kings, queens, archbishops and other dignitaries. In these courts, after the king, the chantwell (or vocalist) was the next highest ranking official as he would lead his band in song during the street parades (Hill, 1997). Although in contemporary masquerade bands most of the court positions have disappeared, with the exception of the kings and queens, a clear hierarchy remains which distinguishes Trinidad-style masquerade bands. Masquerade bands are led by their kings and queens and are divided into sections which will also have individuals who are

positioned at the front of each section. The costuming for the kings, queens and individuals is far more elaborate than other members of the band and also far more expensive – costing between hundreds and thousands of pounds. Typically, the individuals portraying contemporary kings and queens at the Carnival in Trinidad are not only financially well-off but well-known, respected members of the society. These very large costumes are worn and supported by a single individual and differentiate Trinidad-style masquerade from many other masquerade traditions. See Figure 3.2. At other carnivals, individuals do not wear such large costumes, the spectacle is provided instead by large floats depicting various themes – floats do not feature in Trinidad-style masquerade bands.

Figure 3.2

Carnival Queen from Toronto's Scotiabank Toronto Caribbean Carnival



Source: Clubcrawlers.com (2014)

3.5.2 Calypso

The exact origins of calypso are disputed as there are many conflicting explanations put forward as to how and when the art form began. Perhaps the most popular explanation is that it originated with Gros Jean, who, according to legend, was Trinidad's first chantwell (from the French chanterelle meaning soloist). A chantwell is said to be an earlier incarnation of the calypso singer, who would call for the response in a call-and-response song (Martin, 1998). Gros Jean is said to have been appointed 'Maistro Kaiso' (translated master of Kaiso) to Pierre Begorrat, a French plantation owner who came to Trinidad from Martinique in 1784 (Hill, 1997). It is reputed that Pierre Begorrat and his son St. Hilaire held a court of sorts in a cave located on a plantation in Diego Martin, Trinidad. The life of plantation owners was far away from the entertainment of the French courts. The plantations were also located some distance away from the theatres of Trinidad's capital city of Port-of-Spain. Thus, these plantation owners turned to their slaves to provide them with leisure-time entertainment. It is said that St. Hilaire Begorrat would often invite his friends to his court featuring his favourite African singers and he would sit like a King overseeing the proceedings. Gros Jean as Maistro Kaiso would lead other slaves in songs that ridiculed Begorrat's enemies and that flattered his friends (Liverpool, 2001).

Other researchers have also traced the origin of the word 'calypso' to various ethnic groups located on the island of Trinidad. The most common explanations follow:

- Trinidadians of African descent tend to agree the term originated from the West African exclamation 'Kaiso!' which translates as 'bravo' (Espinet & Pitts, 1944). This term is still used among Trinidadians today to express approval of calypso performances.

- Researchers such as Matthews (1942) have credited the French, claiming the word 'calypso' is derived from the French word 'carroseaux' which translates 'carouse or debauch'.
- Spanish speaking Trinidadians have suggested the term 'calypso' is derived from the Spanish 'caliso' which is said to be an old Venezuelan-Spanish term for a topical local song in the highlands along the Spanish Main (Hill, 1997).
- Folklorists such as Sampson cited by Pearse (1956) have credited the Caribs, who formed part the Amerindian population of Trinidad with the origination of the term 'calypso'. They have proposed it was derived from 'carieto', a Carib Amerindian term used to describe a joyous song which could be used to heal, give courage or seduce.

Like masquerade, calypso's development from pre-emancipation to present day is traced back to slavery. For example, even contemporary calypsos continue resemble the songs of praise and derision of slaves of West African origin, such as those reputed to be sung by Gros Jean (Hill, 1997). Others are more in tune with the songs that were sung to accompany dances such as the belair and the calinda. The Belair was a rhythmic, graceful dance performed by female slaves which was accompanied by drums, which was also described as an Africanised version of the French minuet (Franco, 2004). The accompanying belair songs were topical, satirical or eulogistic in nature. The calinda was a mock combat dance and the accompanying songs were warlike chants used to embolden calinda dancers, also known as stick fighters (Martin, 1998).

It was only after the First World War (1914-18) that calypso became an art form in its own right, separate and apart from providing musical accompaniment for carnival activities. Calypso tents, featuring calypsonians (no longer chantwells) were established and a fee charged to patrons wanting to hear the latest calypsos. These tents also became increasingly popular when English replaced the French patois as the language of expression for calypso. The calypso tents became a place

where 'respectable citizens' could get a preview of the new carnival hits. The British, who took over the island in 1797, had been unsuccessful until this point in eradicating the speaking of French patios. They finally succeeded after implementing a number of measures, including making it illegal to use Spanish and French in schools, thus the calypsos sung during this period reflected the overall decline of the speaking of French patios in the population as a whole. Another practice that evolved was rival calypsonians being invited to each other's tents for a fee to demonstrate their lyrical prowess in competitions, which also included performances from dancing girls. Competition improved the quality of calypsos produced and also reduced the number of tents, as calypsonians would often play tent managers off against one another by 'tent-hopping', often causing them financial problems (van Koningsbruggen, 1997).

The changing role of calypso and the calypsonian has had important implications for the development of distinct musical styles within the genre. In the period immediately post-slavery, the majority of the newly emancipated African population were not literate and could not read either the English or French newspapers, so calypsos sung in French patois were a source of news and often contained gossip about affairs and people in society. When calypsos began to be sung in English and become suitable entertainment for respectable citizens, it evolved into an art form in which the calypsonian could demonstrate his lyrical prowess and intellect. From the 1900s, a number of calypso forms evolved. Calypsos began to be used by calypsonians as a means by which to show-off their newly-acquired linguistic knowledge, so many songs became verbal confrontations in which they tried to out-do one another with the sound and length of the words they used. Another style which evolved was the ballad, which focused on narrating occurrences in the lives of ordinary people, establishing calypso's role as a "living newspaper or folk archive" (van Koningsbruggen, 1997, p.48). Calypsos also became a vehicle for articulating the lower classes' criticisms of the government and the Trinidadian elite, and mobilising the masses into communal action (ibid.). All of these types of calypsos continue to exist but the predominant form within the genre is now soca.

Soca came to prominence in the 1970s and is thought by many to be a response to the international market which by this time was shaping musical tastes in Trinidad. Soca has also been viewed as a means for calypso to enter foreign markets. Soca, which combined American soul music with calypso, featured a more “high tech sound and easily accessible party/dance lyrics” making it more attractive to international audiences (Dudley, 1996, p. 286).

Calypso, and especially soca, continue to be important parts of the musical soundtracks of Trinidad-style carnivals. However, in many countries the music of Trinidad-style carnivals typically would also include music genres which are of interest to Black and/or other immigrant groups and also the local population which participate in the celebrations. Like other international events, Trinidad-style carnivals are meeting points for a host of ethnic and other interest groups. See Table 3.6 for one such example.

Table 3.6

Sounds systems at the Notting Hill Carnival

Sound System	Musical Policy	Location
4 Play	Across the board	West Row
Aba Shanti	Roots Rock Reggae, Dub	East Row (junction with Southern Row)
Channel One	Strictly Roots & Culture	Leamington Road Villas
CMC Matrix	Drum & Bass	All Saints Road
Confusion	Soulful House, Garage	St Luke's Road
Different Strokes	Reggae, R&B, Revival, Hip-Hop, Soca	Anderson Street
Disya Jeneration	Across the board	Powis Terrace outside no.12
Gaz's Rocking House of Blues	Classic Ska, Revival, New Orleans R&B	Talbot Road outside no.103
Gladys Wax Road Show	Roots & Culture, Reggae, Ska	Portobello Road
Good Times	Funky House, Disco Classics, Rare Groove, Hip-Hop, Jazz, Reggae	Southern Row / West Row (on precinct)
GT Flex	R&B, Soul, Ragga, Revival, Old Skool	Junction of Aldridge Road Villas and Westbourne Park Road
High on Hope	Hip- Hop & Classic Garage	Bonchurch Road
Jah Observer	Roots & Culture	Junction of Ledbury Road and Talbot Road
KCC & the Rocking Crew	US House (old & new), House Anthems	Wornington Road
Killer Watt	Across the board	St. Luke's Road outside Metro Club
King Tubby's	Reggae, Dancehall, Basement, R&B	Southern Row / West Row (on precinct)
Latin Street Jam	Latin, Salsa	Portobello Road outside no.335
Level Vibes	Uplifting House, 70's 80's	Oxford Gardens facing St. Lawrence Terrace
Lord Gelly's	Reggae, R&B, Soca	Cambridge Gardens outside no.47
Love TKO	Reggae, R&B, Soca, Hip-Hop	Golborne Road
Mangrove Sound	Soca	All Saint's Road outside no.3
Mastermind Road Show	Upfront R&B, Hip-Hop, Soul, Old Skool, Reggae	Canal Way (Canalside House)
Mellow Tone	Soul, Ragga, R&B, Revival	Telford Road near junction with Lionel Mews
Midnight Express 747	Reggae, Soca, Soul	Middle Row
Nasty Love Mixing Lab	Ragga, Dancehall, R&B, Hip-Hop	Colville Gardens (middle)
Pineapple Tribe	Techno Break Beats	Junction of Ledbury & Lonsdale Road
Quakermas	Ragga, R&B, Hip-Hop, House, Garage, Jungle, Roots	Junction of Ledbury Road and Westbourne Park Road
Rampage	Across the board	Junction of Colville Gardens and Colville Terrace, outside no.1
Rapattack	Soul, funk, R&B, Hip-Hop, Garage, Old Skool 70,s 80's Classics, Rare Groove	All Saint's Road Outside no.23
Rough but Sweet	Reggae, R&B, Revival, Lovers, Garage	Conlan Street / East Row
Sancho Panza	Funky House	Middle Row
Saxon Sound	Ragga, Reggae	St. Lawrence Terrace
Sir Lloyd	R&B, Reggae	Junction of Tavistock Road and Leamington Road Villas
Sir Valdez	R&B, Hip-Hop, Ragga	Golborne Road on precinct

Source: Adapted from The Notting Hill Carnival (2013)

At the Notting Hill Carnival, static sound systems are the dominant source of music (see chapter 8 of this thesis for more details). These systems play a range of music which, although it also includes soca, reggae, rhythm and blues, hip-hop and house music are just as, or even more popular with many attendees. A similar proliferation of music styles are also apparent at Trinidad-style-carnivals in the United States and Canada.

3.5.3 Steel Pan

The steel pan is traditionally made by cutting off the end of a fifty-five gallon oil drum and selectively heating and cooling the remaining surface until different sections make sounds of varying pitches when hit with a rubber tipped stick (Seeger, 1958). Like calypso, the exact origin of the steel pan is unknown, as there have been quite a few claims made for “the honour of introducing the ‘pan’ era in carnival music” (Hill, 1997, p. 47). Hill (1997) details three versions of the story of the invention of the steel pan:

- The members of the Mafumba Band of George Street contend that they began beating dustbins in 1932 and 1933 as part of the bamboo-and-bottle music used for their band.
- Carlton Forde, leader of Alexander Ragtime Band from Woodbrook, detailed incidents in 1935 of his band discarding bamboo for metal instruments.
- A member of the Gonzales Place Band of Port-of-Spain recounts a tale of various members assembling homemade metal instruments upon realising that the sound of metal was ‘sweet’. These incidents were said to have occurred in 1936.

Although the debate continues as to when the pan was invented and by whom, it is generally agreed that steel band music was widely heard in Trinidad after 1945, after the wartime ban on carnival was lifted. At the time, the steel pan was in many people’s minds associated with “the unruly revelry of

the lowest classes” (Dudley, 2001, p. 185) as it originated from former slaves whose musical traditions were dominated by drumming. The steel pan’s invention came about as a result the British ban of drumming in 1880. Up until that time, drumming was the main provider of music during carnival celebrations but, following the ban, the former slaves needed to find another type of music.

Steel pan music was also linked to violence, as steel band members often fought with the police and also each other, some even ignoring the prohibition of carnival during the war years and getting into clashes with the authorities. Throughout the 1940s, there were violent clashes among steel bands because of perceived unfair judging at steel band competitions organised by private individuals (Liverpool, 2001). Moreover, many steel bands took on ‘warmongering’ names such as Invaders, Destination Tokyo and Red Army (van Koningsbruggen, 1997) which added to their threatening image.

From the late 1940s, the threatening image of the steel pan slowly started to change. In the 1940s and 1950s, the steel pan found support among members of the growing Black middle-class, including lawyer Lennox Pierre, writer Errol Hill, legislator Albert Gomes and Anglican Canon Max Farquhar. By 1949, high school boys from the middle and upper classes began forming steel bands and playing at concerts, fetes and private functions for the upper classes and a year later the national steel pan association was formed. The aim of the association was stop the private steel pan competitions and thus curb the violence amongst steel bands and also to improve their conditions generally (Liverpool, 2001).

A critical event in the steel pan’s history occurred when the steel pan first drew international attention when a national steel band was formed from the best pan men in Trinidad. They were selected to perform at the 1951 Festival of Britain. A steel band called the Trinidad All Stars Percussion Orchestra (TAPSO) received rave reviews in the British press (Hill, 1997). More performances

followed, including an appearance at the prestigious London Savoy Hotel and a brief tour of Paris (Gonzalez, 1978). This served to further enhance the status of the steel pan in its home country of Trinidad, as previously the steel pan was generally regarded as a past time of “shiftless and dangerous young men” (Dudley, 2007, p. 164).

In 1957, the steel pan association was given an audience with Premier Dr. Eric Williams, who would later become Trinidad and Tobago’s first Prime Minister (Liverpool, 2001). The coming of independence in 1962 ushered in a new level acceptance for steel pan music. The steel pan was adopted as a national instrument and bands were hired to perform at social and state functions. A year later in 1963, the national steel pan competition ‘Panorama’ was introduced (Pantrinbago, 2010a).

Currently, the steel pan for some Trinidad-style carnivals remains a key focal point. For example, Toronto’s Scotiabank Toronto Caribbean Carnival hosts Pan Alive which is advertised as the largest outdoor steel pan orchestra competition in North America (Clubcrawler.com, 2014). At others its importance has been somewhat eclipsed. For instance, Miami’s Miami One Broward Carnival has now removed the Panorama from its festival programme. The Barbados Crop Over, as mentioned previously does not feature a Panorama as part of the main festival’s activities.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has sought to provide a definition and characteristics that distinguish Trinidad-style carnivals from other carnival traditions. There are number of these events celebrated throughout the world especially in the Caribbean, United States, Canada and the United Kingdom. There is also great variety in how the various event organisers have interpreted the Trinidad Carnival formula but there are a number of practices which distinguish them from other carnival traditions. Broadly

speaking they can be defined as celebrations which involve Trinidad-style masquerade, calypso and steel pan and which feature a series of competitions, patterned after those existing in Trinidad. These carnivals, which number into the dozens, can also be divided into three main types – immigrant-initiated celebrations, fusion festivals and invented spectacles. The chapter sought to explain why the term “Caribbean-style” carnival is not used in the thesis. This study is concerned with a sub-set of carnival traditions which have their origins in Trinidad. An investigation into the origins of the Trinidad Carnival and its cultural forms of Trinidad-style masquerade, calypso and steel pan highlight that they are inextricably linked to Trinidad’s history as a former Spanish Colony with French plantation owners and former British colony. However, the relative importance of these traditions for individual Trinidad-style carnivals vary. North American carnivals have been shown to very faithful to the masquerade traditions of J’Ouvert and Carnival Kings and Queens. In the Caribbean, the Calypso Monarch is a highlight event for many carnivals and calypso and soca are very dominant. The importance of steel pan and the Panorama also differs from carnival to carnival.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

4.1 Introduction

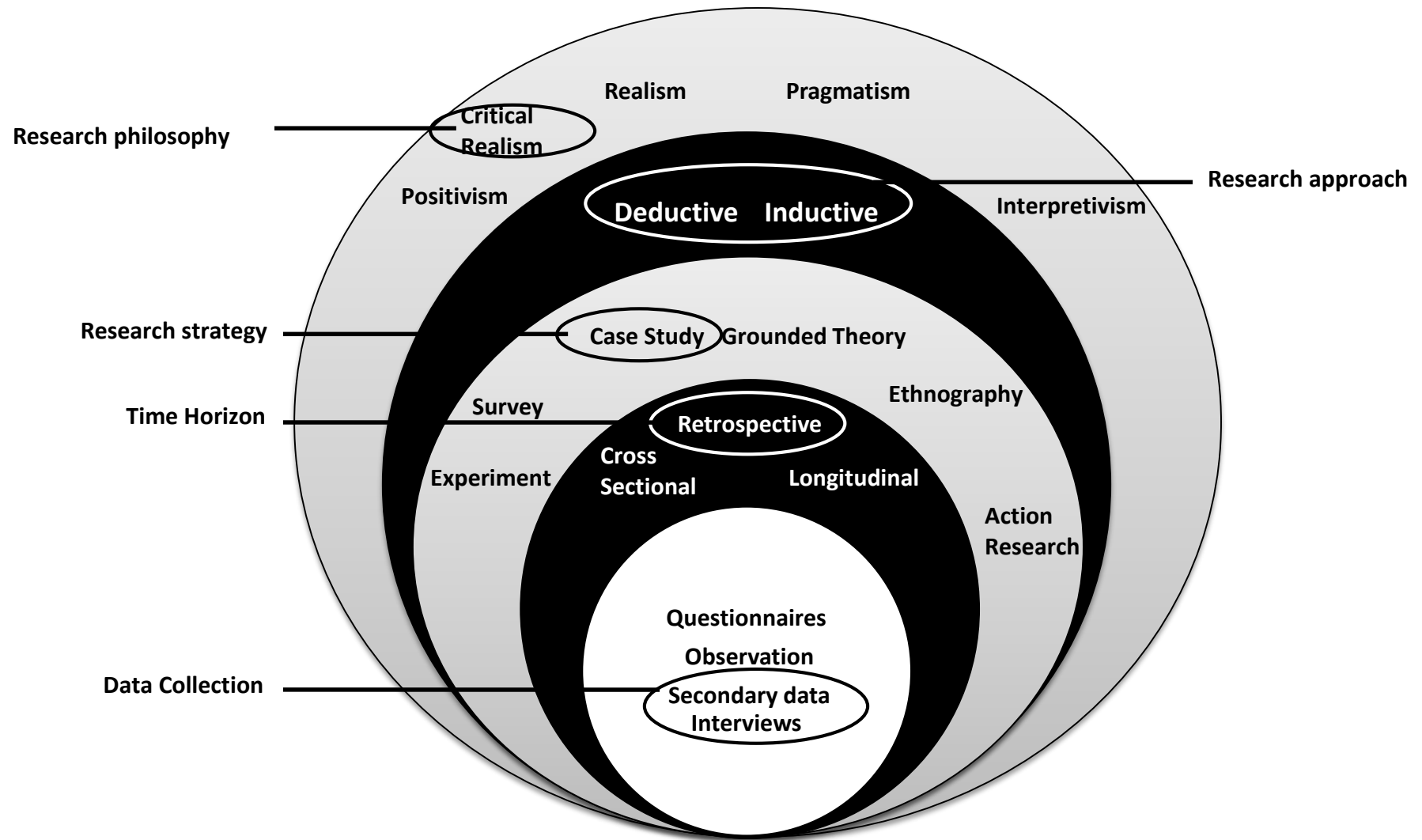
This chapter outlines the research design, methodology and data analysis procedures applied within this thesis. It provides the rationale behind a series of decisions made regarding the research philosophy, approach, strategy, data collection and analysis techniques that the researcher has chosen to use. Broadly speaking, the research methodology that is described within this chapter is a set of structured guidelines or activities that have been used to generate valid and reliable answers to the research objectives that have been set by this thesis. The guidelines or activities that have been followed throughout the research process have been structured in this chapter using the (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2003) onion model. See Figure 4.1. It encompasses five layers – identifying the research philosophy, research approaches, the research strategy, the time horizon and the methods used to collect the data. Also described within this chapter are the methods used to analyse the data collected, the ethical concerns raised by the thesis, along with the ethical safeguards that have been applied and the limitations of the research methodology.

4.2 Research Philosophy

A critical realist philosophy was adopted in approaching the research because the concerns of critical realists offer a close match to the concerns of the research questions asked by this thesis.

Figure 4.1

The Research Onion



Adapted from: Saunders et al. (2003)

Critical realists are interested in explaining why things are the way they are. The philosophy is also compatible with a wide range of research methods (Sayer, 2000) and can be used in the study of any situation, regardless of the numbers of research units involved. Due to its flexibility, the philosophy is often adopted in the study of social sciences which is concerned with real- life phenomenon such as festivals and festival organisations which are the focus of the author's research. However, unlike other research philosophies often adopted in the social sciences such as positivism and realism, critical realism requires that social phenomenon be evaluated critically in order that they be understood (Sayer, 1992). The fundamental differentiator of the perspective is that causal language is used in combination with critical thinking to describe the real world. Unlike positivists, critical realists argue that the real world is a socially constructed one and an understanding of the context in which phenomena are developed is needed to explain them. This has certainly been the case for phenomenon being studied within this thesis. It has been suggested, for example, that it is impossible to understand the significance of the Notting Hill Carnival without having knowledge of Caribbean history and also the changing geography of British racism (Jackson, 1992).

4.3 Research Approach

The research approach used in the thesis was deductive, as an initial framework with operational concepts was used to guide data collection (see chapter 2 Figure 2.4). Thus, there was a degree of anticipation of the phenomenon being studied (Collins & Hussey, 2003). However, there were also elements of induction in the research approach, as the data collection process was used to inform the addition of further themes and ideas to be examined. As Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Jackson (2008) observe, induction is appropriate when not enough is known about a phenomenon to propose firm hypotheses, as it facilitates an initial understanding of a topic, and this was the case for the phenomenon being studied in this thesis.

The combination of deductive and inductive approaches allowed the data uncovered to be linked with existing bodies of literature but accommodated unpredicted, unexpected findings. The combination was continued through to the analysis and the presentation of findings as a conceptual framework was used to guide the analysis and presentation of data but new concepts and issues were also allowed to emerge.

4.4 Research Strategy

A case study research strategy was selected for this thesis which can be undertaken by examining single cases or multiple cases, depending on what is being researched. See Table 4.1. For this thesis, a single case has been examined – the Notting Hill Carnival. However, within Notting Hill Carnival there are distinct categories of cultural producers, three of which have been studied separately. Therefore, this study could be described as a nested or embedded case study. Notting Hill Carnival can be described as a single unit of analysis and the cultural producers studied can be seen as nested or embedded units within it (Swanborn, 2010). This approach provided the benefit of

a more detailed level of enquiry than could be had with a single, holistic case study. Embedded case studies are especially appropriate when the researcher is seeking to uncover the features, context, and process of a phenomenon, as was the case with this thesis. Another advantage of embedded case studies is that they aid the examination of an environment where the boundaries between the phenomenon of interest and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 2003).

The data sources for the case study were qualitative interviews and a variety of published and non-published documentation sourced mainly from the Victoria and Albert Museum: Archive of Art and Design. Qualitative interviews were very effective for exploring unfamiliar subjects where important questions to be asked are yet to be determined (Bell, 2005). The documents examined were useful for providing the historical and political context for the interviews.

Table 4.1

Case Study Types

Case Types	Features
Single, holistic	Used to examine extreme, revelatory or unique cases. It is often the precursor to further studies and may perhaps be the pilot for a later multiple study
Single, embedded	Used to study a case in which there may be a number of different units of analysis.
Multiple, holistic	Used to improve the reliability or generalisability of a case study by replicating the findings of one case across a number of cases.
Multiple, embedded	Used when external validity of a study is important or when it is feared each new study will produce quite divergent results.

Source: Adapted from Gray (2009)

4.4.1 Why the Notting Hill Carnival?

In the previous chapter, there were thirty-seven Trinidad-style carnivals listed, that could be chosen for study. The selection of the Notting Hill Carnival as a case study was driven primarily by the research objectives. The objectives were:

- RO1. To determine how a festival leaves its home country and becomes embedded in a host country.
- RO2. To understand how a festival is adapted in the internationalisation process.
- RO3. To analyse the ways in which a festival's elements are internationalised.
- RO4. To develop a process to describe festival internationalisation.

The Notting Hill Carnival possesses four key characteristics that made it particularly suitable for answering the above questions. Firstly, there is the age of the festival. The Notting Hill Carnival was established in 1964, with the Trinidadian elements being added in the early 1970s which means that many of the festival organisers that were involved its establishment were available for interview. Secondly, the Notting Hill Carnival's long association with the Arts Council, a relationship which dates back to the 1970s, which meant that a great deal of its history has been archived and is available to the public. Thus sufficient data was available to address RO1 "To determine how a festival leaves its home country and becomes embedded in a host country." Thirdly, Notting Hill Carnival possesses a very visible adaptation in the form of its sound systems, which is unique to the United Kingdom. This adaptation was particularly relevant to RO2. "To understand how a festival is adapted in the internationalisation process" Fourthly, Notting Hill Carnival is also one of the few Trinidad-style carnivals to go on to inspire carnivals outside its country of origin (the carnivals in Aruba and St. Kitts are two other such examples). It therefore exhibits a high degree of internationalisation, which

enabled multiple modes and directions of international business activity to be studied, which was required to investigate RO3. “To analyse the ways in which a festival’s elements are internationalised” and RO4. “To develop a process to describe festival internationalisation.”

4.5 Time Horizon

In order to answer the research questions posed by the thesis, it was necessary to trace the festival’s development from inception to the current period. Thus the time period under study for this thesis was 1964-2013. A similar approach was taken in Tikkanen’s (2008) pioneering study of the internationalisation of a Finnish chamber music festival. In this study, internationalisation is viewed as a process, hence it was necessary to study the festival’s 35 year history.

Like Tikkanen (2008), this thesis takes a process approach rather than a variable approach to the research. Variable approaches assume that entities under examination are fixed with varying attributes (Van de Ven, 1992). Based on this assumption, a phenomenon is described using a small number of variables. Process approaches, by contrast, assume that both entities and their attributes are constantly evolving. Unlike variable models, time is a critical factor and causality is determined by the overall pattern of events (Van de Ven & Engleman, 2004). Variable approaches although useful for comparing differences amongst firms and for establishing relationships amongst variables are limited in providing an understanding of evolving processes, determining causality and, in particular, capturing incidences of path dependence. These types of studies are typically cross-sectional and take a snapshot approach to data collection as the data are all collected at one point. Process approaches can overcome the limitations faced by variance approaches as they can assess causality (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Using a longitudinal view, they are capable of examining the complex relationships between variables, events and processes and how they evolve over time

(Eisenhardt, 1989). Longitudinal data collection involves collecting data at various points throughout an extended period (Gray, 2009).

However, given the time period under study – fifty years – a longitudinal study was not possible, as this would require the researcher to collect data at points throughout this entire period. Thus a retrospective study was undertaken. In retrospective studies, researchers use the present as their starting point and the past is then contextually identified in terms of its relationship to the current period. Retrospective studies are well suited to researching events that have already occurred, such as those being studied within this thesis, because recollections of the past are based on their relevance to the present (Belk, 2006). Retrospective studies are also quite commonly used to study changes within festival organisations (see for example, Alamillo 2003 and Tikkanen 2008).

4.6 Research Process

4.6.1 Selecting Interviewees and Documentation

Before embarking on the process of collecting data, decisions had to be made on how interviewees and documentation would be selected. Interviewees were selected using theoretical sampling which is a method of data collection in which data is selected on the basis of concepts derived from the data itself. It differs from the conventional methods of sampling because the researcher doesn't collect the entire data set before analysing it. It is instead an iterative process in which the researcher moves back and forth between data collection and analysis – allowing the analysis to dictate new sources of data. Thus additional interviews and questions were generated, with each new interviewee that was interviewed. With theoretical sampling, this iteration continues until a saturation point is reached. Saturation occurs when the major concepts that have been discovered during the

analysis process show sufficient depth and variation in terms of their exploration. This sampling method was especially useful for researching the subject matter of this thesis and the research population that it targeted because it is well-suited to new and uncharted areas of study, it facilitated discovery and allowed the researcher to take advantage of fortuitous events (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

An interactive process was also taken when selecting documentary evidence as there was a dual process of getting to know the documents and getting to know the case study that was being written, which interacted and fed into each other (Gillham, 2000). Additionally reviewing documentary evidence raised additional questions that could be asked during interviews and interviewee responses raised new information requirements from the documentary evidence. As Gillham (2000, p. 38) observes “this progressive influence is one dimension of the emergent character of case study research.”

4.6.2 Data Collection

Data collection was undertaken during the period July 2011 – May 2013. This extended period of data collection was necessary given the method by which the interviewees and documentary evidence were sampled. Interviewees were contacted by e-mail at first and then telephoned to arrange a date for interview. Each interview was at least one hour in duration, with a few lasting up to three hours. Prior to each interview, every interviewee was given an information sheet and an initial list of topics that would be discussed. They were also asked where possible to bring along documents relevant to the topics to be discussed. Interviewees were met either at their places of work or at a mutually agreed, convenient, public venue. Each interview was recorded and later transcribed.

The archival documentation was examined at the Victoria and Albert Museum: Archive of Art and Design located at Blythe House, 23 Blythe Road, London W14 0QX. Twenty-one files within the series Ethnic Minority Arts Unit Papers, 1976-1989 were examined. These files were requested two and three at time in advance of visits. Files contained a mixture of published and unpublished documents – including newspaper clippings, magazines, pamphlets, reports, letters, meeting minutes and memos. Notes were taken from relevant documents at the Blythe House premises because many of the contents within the files were less than thirty years old and photocopying of the documents from these files was not allowed by the archive and they could not be removed.

4.6.3 Interview Guides

All interviewees were provided with a list of topics that would be covered during their interview prior to meeting the researcher. The topics were in keeping with the conceptual framework in the literature review. Each interview comprised four key sections. The first section was about the background of the interviewee which explored how the individual became a part of the Notting Hill Carnival. This part of the interview was meant to capture the interviewee's personal networks and relationships. The second section was about the development of the interviewee's organisation which captured the opportunities and challenges of festival internationalisation. The third section asked specifically about where the interviewee organisation's inputs came from and also where the organisation's customers were located, and explored the modes by which individual festival elements were internationalised. The final section focused on how the interviewee's organisation related to the institution's with coordinating responsibilities for the Notting Hill Carnival, which sought to ascertain whether there was an overall process by which festivals internationalise. The interview although structured was very much like a narrative. For example, the initial question to all participants was "How did you get started in working in carnival?" The purpose of this question was to allow interviewees to "re-familiarize themselves with their past in the context of their present" (Otnes, Ruth, Lowrey, &

Commuri, 2006). At each point in the interview, there were questions that moved interviewees forward in time. For example, a question such as “What types of people were in the band when you first started?” would be followed by “How has the make-up of the band changed over time?” The purpose of this was to help the researcher to tap into a chronological order of episodes and narrative reasoning (Otnes et al., 2006). See appendix 1 for an example.

4.6.4 Schedule of Interviewees

Interviewees were contacted from seven organisations involved in the business of operations of the Notting Hill Carnival: the London Notting Hill Carnival Trust Limited (LNHCTL) (currently known as the London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprises Trust and formerly known as the Notting Hill Carnival Trust), the Arts Council England (ACE) and the Greater London Authority (GLA), the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (RBKC), the Notting Hill Masquerade Band Association (now known as CAMF, the Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation), the British Association of Steel Bands (BAS) and the British Association of Sound Systems (BASS).

Pertinent details were captured for each interviewee such as year of establishment of his/her organisation and nationality to aid cross analyses of the embedded units within the case study. See Appendix 2 for full listing.

4.6.5 Negotiating Access

Accessing interviewees proved to be somewhat challenging because, like many individuals working in the creative sector, the “carnivalists” (a term used to describe individuals involved in the Notting Hill Carnival) are individuals who enjoy celebrity-type status with very high profiles in the media,

especially those involved at board level with the LNHCL. Every year when the Notting Hill Carnival occurs, there is a great deal of publicity and usually these individuals are called on to make public statements to defend the event against criticisms. They are also under a great deal of public scrutiny. This made many interviewees very suspicious of anyone asking for interviews.

Additionally, although the researcher was aware of the historical context and well-placed to understand the political and social issues which surround the Notting Hill Carnival, she still underestimated the level of resistance that would be encountered in the interviewing process. For many interviewees, Caribbean history (particularly its colonial history) and the racism many Caribbean people encountered when they first immigrated to Britain in the 1950s and 1960s were ongoing and very real issues. So understanding what Jackson (1992) described as “the changing geography of British racism” was critical for not only understanding the festival as a phenomenon but also for approaching interviewees who were a part of it. Several interviewees described instances in which they felt they were mistreated and/or misrepresented by the media, local government bodies and even the police because of Britain’s historical, existing or changing racial politics.

Like Ortner (2010) who attempted to gain access to Hollywood insiders for her study, the researcher found the Notting Hill Carnival community to be one with a strong sense of boundaries. Many potential interviewees (although there were quite a few exceptions) were also heavily invested in discourses and practices which defined “insideness and outsideness” (p. 213). The researcher despite having two-years of experience working with a range of grass-root cultural organisations, including those involved in the Trinidad Carnival, was still very much an outsider to these individuals.

Another challenge was that, like Hodkinson (2002 cited in McKee, 2008, p. 107), the researcher had to establish “street cred” in order to attract interviewees. A question asked by a number of interviewees was “What are your carnival credentials?” The researcher also found, like Hodkinson,

establishing a representation of herself as a part of the community she wished to study was needed to establish trust. To do this, she was required to show herself as a committed Carnival researcher who had been working within Carnival for some time. Thus, the researcher established a strong visual identity with attendees by connecting with them through her social media channels - Facebook, LinkedIn and YouTube. Particularly helpful were the YouTube videos made by the researcher which provided interviewees with an audio-visual presentation of herself which showed that she was of Trinidadian origin which was important to some interviewees, especially those that viewed the Notting Hill Carnival as a Trinidadian export. She also hosted two research events which served to introduce the researcher and her research to the community (see King's College London 2013 and 2014).

4.6.6 Ethical Considerations

The research methodology applied in this thesis relied heavily on interviews with individuals involved with the business of the Notting Hill Carnival. Research which involves the participation of human subjects in this manner raises a number of ethical issues. Perhaps the most important of these is obtaining informed consent. This required research participants to be provided with sufficient and accessible information about the research being conducted so that they were able to make an informed decision about whether or not to be interviewed (Crow, Wiles, Heath, & Charles, 2006). To ensure all participants were able to give informed consent, they were provided with an information sheet. See appendix 3. Additionally, each interviewee signed a consent form indicating they had given informed consent See appendix 4. Furthermore, participants were offered the opportunity to withdraw up to one year after giving their interview.

Other important issues were the privacy of individuals participating in the research and the storage of their data. To ensure the protection of interviewees' privacy, their data was stored in compliance

with the Data Protection Act 1998 (Crown, n.d.). The Act requires that personal data be obtained fairly and lawfully, be accurate and kept up-to-date, stored securely so that it cannot be accidentally lost or destroyed or accessed by unauthorised persons and not transferred to a country outside the European Economic Area unless the country the data goes to can offer adequate data protection (Gray, 2009). Thus interviewees have been given pseudonyms (e.g. Interviewee 1, 2 etc.) and their interviews were stored as mp3s in password protected files. Only the researcher had access to the personal information provided by interviewees. This was in keeping with research ethics clearance that was granted to the researcher by her research ethics committee. See appendix 5.

4.7 Analysis

The majority of the data analysis was directed towards ordering and making sense of the copious data collected during interviews, which included transcribed interviews and field notes of interview observations. This was an iterative process of collecting data, transcribing data, coding the data (identifying emerging themes and issues), familiarisation and focused reading, recoding the data and generating theory or formulating explanations for the research findings.

An initial set of codes were formulated based on the conceptual framework devised from the literature and these codes were subsequently revised as new issues and themes emerged. Creating a provisional 'start list' prior to field work (Miles & Huberman, 1994) was useful because it helped to guide what would be collected and transcribed, which in some measure mitigated against the problems of data overload and data retrieval because it made the researcher far more selective throughout the data collection process. Although Miles and Huberman (1994) observe selectivity alone will not address data overload and data retrieval challenges, the researcher found starting with

an initial set of variables extremely useful for guiding data collection and analysis. See appendices 6 and 7 for an initial set of code categories used and some initial analysis.

As the data analysis progressed, additional individual codes were added to the categories and new categories were added with their own individual codes. See appendix 8. Coding was done by hand through familiarisation and close reading of the data. In the beginning, the codes were mainly descriptive and sought to provide an initial understanding, whereas later codes were more inferential and sought to establish patterns in the data. This aim was to move from merely summarising and describing the data to identifying patterns, themes and explanations (Miles & Huberman, 1994). As part of close reading, the researcher attempted to establish relationships and patterns in the data. This was done by writing a series of memos throughout the transcribed text. This enabled the researcher to take a step back to “make deeper and more conceptually coherent sense” of the data (Miles and Huberman (1994, p. 72). The aim was to begin to tie the data together and move toward generalisations or theory formulation. See Appendix 9.

A vital part of the case study analysis was compiling the data into a discernible narrative or story which was chronologically sequenced. Sequencing was also vital to theory formulation or establishing patterns over time within the internationalisation process. The key tools utilised to sequence data in the case studies were time-ordered data displays, which established a chronological flow of events and highlighted key incidents which led to developments and established connections.

In keeping with the nested-case study strategy, individual case study units were written up and analysed separately. Later, comparisons were made across case study units. This required

examining the overall pattern of variables within each nested case study unit and then looking across each of them for overall patterns and similarities.

4.8 Limitations

As is the case with any methodology, there are limitations with case study research. The key limitation is that of generalisation. Quantitative and qualitative researchers continually debate the appropriate means of building theory (Neuman, 2003). For quantitative research, population characteristics are established in advance and a subset or sample are selected using replicable means. From this perspective, qualitative research, which is typically used in case studies, is fundamentally flawed as it is based on a limited sample size and is difficult to replicate (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Thus, these types of studies also lack external validity as it is not possible to generalise from the data to other cases or situations (Gray, 2009). Limitations also arise from the data sources used in compiling case studies. It is argued that use of secondary data poses epistemological problems because the context in which the data were collected is not known and cannot be replicated, so the researcher cannot assess the degree to which reflexivity played a part in how data was collected and presented. Reflexivity is a concept used to describe the relationship between the researcher and the object of research (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007). This problem was mitigated somewhat by using multiple sources of data to answer the same questions, also known as triangulation (Yin, 2009).

Interviewee accounts also have particular limitations as interviewees must be relied upon to be truthful in their responses. Even when interviewees do not intend deception, lapses in memory will reduce the accuracy of data provided by interviewees, especially over extended time periods. Retrospective studies, in particular, exacerbate these difficulties. In the retrospective study, the researcher is relying on informants' memories as a basis for interpreting present events. Human

memory is fallible and there be many occurrences that seemed insignificant at the time of occurring and, as such, were quickly forgotten but they could have significant implications for present events (Wall & Williams, 1970 cited by Otnes et al., 2006). Similarly, those events that were, in fact, of less significance could be made more significant with the passage of time as individuals try to find explanations for current events. Furthermore, with these types of studies, each interviewee arguably immerses himself/herself in an “idiosyncratic and idiographic orientation” (p.390) of the present and so it may be difficult to divine overall patterns or relationships from interviewees’ accounts. Triangulation can also be used in overcoming these problems.

4.9 Summary

In order to decide on the research methods and analysis to be applied in this thesis, the researcher had to consider a number of questions – both philosophical and practical. The researcher first had to determine what research philosophy would be adopted before undertaking the research. Critical realism was selected because critical realists are interested in finding out why things are the way they are, which was in keeping with the researcher’s research objectives. During the research process both inductive and deductive approaches were used. This allowed the data uncovered to be linked with existing bodies of literature and also for unpredicted and unexpected findings to be analysed as well. The research strategy selected was a single-nested case study of the Notting Hill Carnival. Case study research was chosen because it was particularly appropriate to human phenomenon such as festivals and a nested case study was chosen in order for the festival’s central organising bodies and the organisations responsible for the cultural art forms to be studied separately and so provide a more detailed level of enquiry than could be had with a single holistic case study. The data was analysed through an iterative process of data collection, transcription and coding, recoding and formulating explanations for the data. As with any research methodology, there were

limitations. Like with other types of case study research it is not possible to generalise and external validity is not possible. Additionally, there are also issues with reliability of data for both interviews and the use of secondary data. To mitigate these shortcomings, triangulation or using multiple sources of data to answer similar questions was an important strategy.

Chapter 5 - From Rhuane Laslett to the London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust: The Making of the London Notting Hill Carnival

5.1 Overview

This chapter examines the development of the overall organising body for the Notting Hill Carnival, which provides the overall structure for the findings in this thesis. In keeping with a retrospective approach (Belk, 2006), it starts with providing an overview of the current festival (see Table 5.1) and its management structure before examining the history of the event and how it has changed. It details how the Notting Hill Carnival transformed from a relatively simple event, managed by the founder Rhuane Laslett and her partner to the current organisation, which is a company limited by guarantee with a board of directors. This was done in order to provide an understanding of the carnival as it evolved, and capture key events which were critical to overall development. The chapter also highlights the important role public and private sector organisations have played in establishing and embedding the Notting Hill Carnival in the UK. The organisations that were of particular relevance were the Arts Council England (ACE), formerly Arts Council Great Britain (ACGB), the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea (RBKC) and the Greater London Authority (GLA), formerly the Greater London Council (GLC). Additionally, it demonstrates how the various Notting Hill Carnival organising bodies have contributed to the event's development and the development of Trinidad-style carnivals worldwide.

The chapter is divided into two main parts. Sections 5.2-5.7 detail the findings – which include the establishment and embedding of the festival in its host market, its business operations and international market activity. Section 5.8 contextualises the findings in terms of international business research and uses actor-network theory, in keeping with the initial conceptual framework. It focuses on analysing the interactions of actor-networks, the modes of international business activity and the

process of internationalisation displayed by the central organising bodies. It closes with insights that have come out of the analysis.

Table 5.1

Notting Hill Carnival Festival Programme Highlights

When	Activities
2 days before Carnival Monday	Panorama – Champions of Steel Competition (organised by the British Association of Steel Bands)
1 day before Carnival Monday	J'Ouvert (organised by the British Association of Steel Bands) Childrens costumed parade (organised by the Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation) Static sound system street parties (organised by the British Association of Sound Systems)
Carnival Monday	Adults costumed parade (organised by the Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation) Static sound system street parties continue (organised by the British Association of Sound System)

5.2 The Notting Hill Carnival's Key Organisations

5.2.1 The London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust

Over the years, the various organising bodies for the Notting Hill Carnival have worked with a range of public, charitable, cultural and private sector organisations to source the infrastructure and services needed to stage the event. Currently, the overall planning and organisation for the festival is done by the London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust. Its current mission is to use Carnival arts as a catalyst in achieving a number of social and cultural impacts, including promoting artistic excellence, empowering communities and facilitating social integration (London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprises Trust, 2015). The LNH CET works in collaboration with three key organisations types in order to achieve this mission – cultural organisations, statutory funding bodies and emergency and transportation services. These are detailed in sections 5.2.2-5.2.3.

5.2.2 Cultural organisations

These organisations deliver the cultural elements of the Notting Hill Carnival, which are primarily the steel band competition, the costumed parades and the static sound system street parties. They are described as steel bands, masquerade bands and static sound systems. Steel bands are groups of steel band players who come together at the Notting Hill Carnival to compete against one another in the Champions of Steel contest and also provide music for costumed revellers during the costumed parades (see Table 5.1). Masquerade bands are groups of costumed revellers that come together to depict their band's chosen theme, wearing costumes they have either purchased from their band or made themselves. Static sound systems are comprised of a group of disc jockeys, sound engineers and MCs (in this context vocalists who provide lyrics, often improvised on the spot, to the music or

'riddims' played by the sound system - and interact with audience members). They host the open-air street parties that take place during the Carnival. Further details about these organisations can be found in chapters 6, 7 and 8 of the thesis.

Every steel band, masquerade band and static sound system is currently required to pay an annual fee to the London Notting Carnival Enterprises Trust in order to take part in the event. These organisations must also pay their relevant council a licencing fee to participate in the parade or, in the case of the sound systems, to occupy a specific area which is on the parade route. The council that is paid is dependent on the part of the carnival footprint in which the particular organisation's activity takes place. If the organisation's activity takes place within the Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea, the RBKC is paid, and if the activity occurs within the Westminster Borough, the WBC is paid. In order to be eligible for licences to participate in the parade, all cultural organisations participating are required to be members of their cultural arena's association, which also requires the payment of a membership fee. These associations are described in sections 5.2.1.1 to 5.2.1.3.

5.2.2.1 The British Association of Steel Bands (BAS)

The British Association of Steel Bands (BAS) is the governing body for steel bands in the United Kingdom. Similar organisations are found in other countries which stage Trinidad-style carnivals and which feature steel band competitions or "Panoramas" (see Panonthenet.com, n.d.). Interviewee 12, for example, explained that BAS has collaborated with PanTrinbago (the steel band governing body for Trinidad and Tobago) and the United States Steel Band Association (the steel band governing body of New York) on matters of common concern. Within the UK, BAS represents the interests of steel bands within the Notting Hill Carnival. Its chairman therefore sits on the board of the LHNCE to advocate for steel bands participating in the Notting Hill Carnival and also negotiates with statutory bodies for funding and other considerations to paid to steel bands.

5.2.2.2 The British Association of Sound Systems (BASS)

The British Association of Sound Systems (BASS) is the governing body for sound systems in the United Kingdom. This cultural arena association is unique to the Notting Hill Carnival, as the UK is home to the only Trinidad-style carnivals which feature static sound systems and include open air parties as core attractions. The remit of BASS is focused on the Notting Hill Carnival and London, and its membership is primarily made up of sound systems that play at the Notting Hill Carnival (British Association of Sound Systems, 2014). BASS also has a few honorary members that have made significant contributions to sound system culture in the United Kingdom, which is in keeping with its broader mandate of seeking recognition for and publicising the contributions that UK sound systems have made to British popular culture.

In the run-up to Notting Hill Carnival, BASS negotiates the purchase of insurance, the payment of licencing to local councils and the provision of infrastructure such as portable toilets and crowd barriers on behalf of its members. It also acts as a facilitator of communication between its members and statutory organisations such as the local councils and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS). Its chairman also has a seat on the LNH CET board.

5.2.2.3 The Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation (CAMF)

The Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation (CAMF) was formed to represent the interests of masquerade bands which participate in the Notting Hill Carnival. CAMF, like BAS and BASS, also has a remit that goes beyond the Notting Hill Carnival. It aims to promote and secure the future of masquerade making, also described Carnival Arts (Carnival Arts & Masquerade Foundation, 2015). In pursuit of this objective, the organisation hosts exhibitions and other events to showcase the works

of masquerade makers, such as the recently staged historical and commemorative exhibition ‘Celebrating the Mas’ (Uksocascene, 2013).

CAMF also negotiates licences from the RBKC and the WBC for its members so that they can participate in the parade. Through its Chairman, who sits on the board of the LNH CET, it strives to increase the visibility of masquerade bands at the Notting Hill Carnival.

5.2.3 Statutory Funding Bodies

Currently, there are three key state funding bodies which provide financial support to the Notting Hill Carnival – the council of the RBKC, since the majority of the Notting Hill Carnival’s activities take place within that borough; the Greater London Authority (GLA), which includes the Notting Hill Carnival amongst the London events that it supports, and the Arts Council England (ACE) which funds masquerade bands, steel bands and also the cultural arena associations. The roles of each of these organisations is briefly described in further detail in 5.2.3.1-5.2.3.3.

5.2.3.1 The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Borough Council (RBKC)

The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Borough Council (RBKC) describes itself a facilitator of the Carnival which assists the LNH CET in its overall planning for the event. One of its key roles as a state body is to ensure that when the festival is staged, the impacts that the event has for the people who live and work in Notting Hill are managed properly (RBKC, 2015a). The RBKC has the responsibility for the majority of the Carnival clean up, sanitation and licencing, since the majority of the event falls within the RBKC’s jurisdiction. See appendix 9 for a map which shows the festival foot print (described as the performance area) and the RBKC’s jurisdiction. The RBKC also provides

funding for the provision of professional services and infrastructure required to stage the Carnival directly to third parties, such as event management and event production companies. In the run-up to and during the Notting Hill Carnival, the RBKC also works closely with WBC and the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) to ensure crowd safety and to minimise activities such as illegal trading, noise violations and littering.

5.2.3.2 The Greater London Authority (GLA)

The Greater London Authority (GLA), formerly known as the Greater London Council (GLC), supports the Carnival by providing funding for stewarding of the parade and also the infrastructure required to stage the steel band competition. The office of the Mayor of London, which is part of the GLA, also officially supports the Notting Hill Carnival (Greater London Authority, n.d). The current Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, attends and issues statements in support of the event. The GLA also has a long-standing funding relationship with the BAS and has supported this cultural arena association with a number of steel pan initiatives. The details of these initiatives can be found in chapter 6 of this thesis.

5.2.3.3 The Arts Council England (ACE)

The Arts Council England (ACE), formerly known as the Arts Council of Great Britain (ACGB), is the statutory funding body which has longest funding history with the Notting Hill Carnival. Its primary interest in the festival is developing the Carnival's art forms and having these arts forms shared with as wide an audience as possible. This is in line with the ACE's current mission of "Great art and culture for everyone" (Arts Council England, n.da). To support these activities, the ACE has funding relationships with both the cultural organisations and the cultural arena associations involved in the Notting Hill Carnival. The ACE funds these organisations through three key funding schemes -

through its National Portfolio Funding programme, its Strategic Funding programme and its Grants for the Arts programme. Each of these funds supports the Notting Hill Carnival's art forms in different ways.

The **National Portfolio Funding** programme provides continuous funding for a three-year period. Cultural organisations and cultural arena associations are currently awarded funds ranging from £40,000-£250,000 per annum for a three year period. This scheme enables cultural organisations and cultural arena associations to have a source of guaranteed funding for a fixed period to support ongoing projects (Arts Council England, n.db).

The **Strategic Funding** programme, in contrast, provides funding to cultural organisations and/or cultural arena associations to tackle projects which address matters of strategic concern, such as the diversification of future sources of funding and the development of new business models. Funding applications from consortia or groups of cultural organisations and/or cultural arena associations are therefore encouraged within this funding scheme (Arts Council England, n.dc).

Grants for the Arts is a funding scheme that cultural organisations and/or cultural arena associations can apply to for funds for one-off projects. The sums of money awarded range from £1,000 to £100,000. The funding scheme is aimed at individuals, arts organisations and other people who use the arts in their work (Arts Council England, n.dd).

5.2.4 Emergency and Transportation Services

In order for an event to be delivered which is the scale and scope of the Notting Hill Carnival, there is the need for emergency and transportation services to become involved. In the case of the Notting Hill Carnival, a safety operating forum exists in the form of an Operational Planning and Systems Group (OPSG). This group works to protect the health, safety and welfare of those working at and attending the event. The OPSG includes representatives from the LNH CET, the RBKC and the WBC but emergency and transportation services take a leading role in ensuring health and safety requirements are met. These services include: the British Transport Police (BTP); the London Ambulance Service NHS Trust (LAS); the London Fire and Emergency Protection Authority (LFEPA); the London Underground Limited (LUL); the Metropolitan Police (MPS); St John Ambulance (SJA); and Transport for London (TFL) (Greater London Authority, 2004). Sections 5.2.4.1-5.2.4.4 outline the responsibilities of the key emergency and transport organisations involved in the Notting Hill Carnival. These are LFEPA, MPS, SJA and TFL.

5.2.4.1 The London Fire and Emergency Protection Authority (LFEPA)

The London Fire and Emergency Protection Authority (LFEPA) is the lead agency responsible for fire safety at the Notting Hill Carnival. It works collaboratively with the MPS, SJA and LAS to manage and control fire risks at the event. An area in which its input is particularly visible is in the inspection and licensing of stalls and also the briefing of stall holders. The LFEPA takes the lead in ensuring that stall holders operate their stalls in a manner which does not create the potential for fire hazards (Greater London Authority, 2004). Many food and drink stalls at the Notting Hill Carnival involve cooking on site and the operation of generators and other portable electric equipment. LFEPA ensures that stall holders take care in managing the risks of injuring themselves and patrons whilst operating their stalls.

5.2.4.2 The Metropolitan Police Service (MPS)

The MPS is the most visible of the emergency services at the Notting Hill Carnival. Since the 1980s, the MPS have deployed between 7000-9000 police officers to the event (Cohen, 1993). Its main responsibility is to work together with the BTP to maintain public order at the event. The MPS is also lead agency in a number of other transportation and emergency areas, which include: the designation of safety zones and sterile areas within the Carnival: the division of the event area (so that it is in line with policing plans); the determination of pedestrian zones; the location and placement of police barriers; the control of crowd movement; the maintenance of emergency access routes; and the management and coordination of communications amongst all the different transportation and emergency organisations which support the Notting Hill Carnival. It also has a critical role in supporting the local councils in enforcing the licencing regulations at the Carnival, which involves mainly seizures of alcohol sold illegally and enforcing of the Carnival curfew (Greater London Authority, 2004). Chapter 8 of this thesis has more details on the Carnival curfew.

5.2.4.3 St. John Ambulance (SJA)

St. John Ambulance (SJA) is the agency that has the primary responsibility for establishing, staffing and managing medical treatment centres within the Carnival area. Over 80% of carnival injuries/medical incidents are treated on site by SJA (Greater London Authority, 2004). The SJA has been involved in the Notting Hill Carnival since 1966 providing on-site medical care, which greatly reduces the time that injured or ill persons at the festival have to wait for treatment. The area immediately surrounding the festival is highly congested so patrons are better served by walking to the SJA's treatment centres on foot (St. John Ambulance, 2015). If there are any injuries that cannot be treated

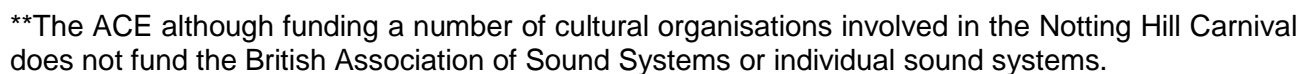
on site, the SJA coordinates with the MPS and LSA to transfer injured persons to nearby hospitals. The latter agency is responsible for providing their transportation (Greater London Authority, 2004)

5.2.4.4 Transport for London (TFL)

Transport for London (TFL) has the strategic overview of all transport in Greater London. Although it has no direct responsibility for public safety at the Carnival, it contributes signage which directs commuters to and from the festival. TFL can also be held liable if incidents occur as a result of it directing the public in the wrong direction or posting signage that conflict with other emergency or transportation organisations involved in the event. As part of its strategic role overseeing transport for Greater London, and in order to assess the impact that the Notting Hill Carnival has on the transport network, representatives for TFL attend the regular OPSG meetings and provide input where needed. TFL works in conjunction with LUL to develop and implement a transportation strategy each year for the Notting Hill Carnival. TFL also plays a key role in distributing safety information to the public. The safety information, which is also known as the “Carnival Code”, takes the form of 500,000 leaflets that are produced and distributed throughout London’s transport networks.

Figure 5.1 depicts how the complex network of organisations involved in the Notting Carnival come together to stage the event. Please note, only the key organisations highlighted in sections 5.2.1 - 5.2.4 are shown, as there are many other organisations involved in the Notting Hill Carnival which, due to the constraints of the thesis, cannot be discussed in full. Also, the event did not always include such a varied group of stakeholders; the current structure evolved over time. This evolution is outlined in section 5.3.

Notting Hill Carnival Key Organisations



5.3 Evolution of Notting Hill Carnival's Organising Bodies

5.3.1 In the beginning (1964-1969)

There are two people credited with starting the Notting Hill Carnival; Claudia Jones, a Trinidadian journalist and political activist, and Rhuane Laslett, a British social worker. Claudia Jones is described by some authors as the mother of the Notting Hill Carnival (Sherwood, 1999). However, interviewee 18 amongst others, is adamant that the early indoor London carnival celebrations hosted by Jones in 1959 and the early 1960s (London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprises Trust, 2013) are, in fact, not organisationally connected to Notting Hill's street carnival, which was established by Rhuane Laslett. Interviewee 18 and the Laslett family maintain that Rhuane Laslett was, in fact, unaware of the indoor carnival hosted by Jones (Younge, 2002). For these reasons, this thesis starts the history of the Notting Hill Carnival's organising bodies with Rhuane Laslett. Laslett's intention was not to organise a Trinidad-style carnival. She had intended to produce an event which proved the people of Notting Hill, which consisted of a significant number of immigrants, "weren't rubbish people" (p. 31) and to put on party for children whose parents couldn't afford to take them on holiday (Bradley, 2013).

She and her partner, Jim O'Brien, were the event's organisers – it was actually O'Brien that invited the Russ Henderson Steel Band to participate in the first Notting Hill Fayre in 1964. Both were not expecting the crowds that the steel band drew – around 1000 people were said to have turned up to this event. Laslett is reported to have said in response "What have I done?" (Younge, 2002, p. 31).

The early festival organisation involved Laslett, O'Brien and volunteers working for free and donating items such as costumes and horses and carts. Local community organisations such as the gas board

and the fire brigade also had floats. The couple were in no way prepared for what would happen when more and more Caribbean immigrants started coming to the event, which became known as the Notting Hill Carnival. They found themselves caught between the growing assertiveness of the 1960s' Black Power movement and increasing interference from the police who, according to O'Brien, had started to feel they were losing control of the streets for that day. By 1969, as many as 10,000 people were attending the event, which is when Laslett and O'Brien decided to give the management of the event to the Notting Hill community as it had become something that neither of them wanted the responsibility for (Younge, 2002).

5.3.2 The Birth of a Trinidad-style Carnival (1970- 1974)

From the 1970s, the Notting Hill Carnival took on a more radical character, aligning with Britain's emerging Black Power movement and also White radical organisations from London. Alternative press such as *Time Out* and *City Limits* also started writing about the Carnival. During this period, there was also the introduction of Trinidadian traditions thanks in large part to Leslie "Teacher" Palmer. He was Trinidadian-born but had left Trinidad at a young age. He was interested in growing attendance at the festival. He thought this would be best achieved by introducing Trinidadian traditions to the Carnival. Prior to his joining the organising committee, the Notting Hill Carnival bore little resemblance to a Trinidad-style carnival. In 1973, he is reputed to have encouraged, cajoled and recruited people to make Trinidad-style mas' bands. One of these people was Peter Minshall, who would go on to become Trinidad's most famous mas' maker. Minshall made his mas' making debut in Notting Hill that year before going home to Trinidad. In 1974, Palmer, accompanied by two of the mas' makers he convinced to put out bands in the previous year, went to Trinidad. Palmer, accompanied by now legendary Notting Hill mas' makers Mack Copeland and Lawrence Noel, met with Trinidad's Carnival Development Committee to learn about the structure and organisation of the

Trinidad Carnival and also to ask the committee to send costumes from Trinidad for use in the Notting Hill Carnival (La Rose, 2004). The result of his efforts was the transformation of a community fete to a Trinidad-style carnival.

5.3.3 The Carnival Development Committee (1975 – 1981)

In 1975, a Carnival Development Committee (CDC) chaired by Selwyn Baptiste was established, which although bearing the same name as the carnival organising body in Trinidad (Pryce, 1990), its governance structure was quite different. For a start it was an organisation set up by a community rather than the British government. Additionally, the members of the committee were voted in through democratic elections rather than being government appointed. It also had a constitution. This organisation was set up largely in response to growing opposition against the Carnival (La Rose, 2004). It is this committee that is credited with turning the Notting Hill Carnival into a major festival. In 1975, Leslie Palmer took the leadership role in the Carnival and decided to invite local sound systems as a means of attracting young people to the Carnival. In that same year, Capital Radio appeared at the Carnival and broadcasted live for four hours with updates encouraging young people to come to the event. A record 250,000 people were said to have turned up (Gutzmore, 1982). The committee also successfully argued the artistic merits of costumed masquerade to the ACGB which resulted in both the CDC and individual masquerade bands receiving funding from the organisation (Cohen, 1993).

The CDC's 1975 successes also brought new challenges. With such a large crowd on the street, numerous petty crimes such as pickpocketing and camera snatching took place. The police on hand were powerless to stop these incidents as they were far too few in number in comparison to the

event's attendees (Cohen, 1980). There were also the conflicts that arose between the other cultural groups participating in the Carnival and the sound systems. These are detailed in chapters 6-8 of this thesis. However, these problems would pale in comparison to what would happen in the following year. In 1976, 1,500 police officers came out to the Carnival. They were described as heavy-handed in their treatment of carnival attendees, mainly Black males. The result was what became known as the Notting Hill riots and a contentious relationship between Notting Hill Carnival and the police which continues into the contemporary celebrations (Cohen, 1980).

The CDC also had to contend with challenges from within the Carnival community. In 1977, a rival carnival organising body led by Vijay Ramlal, which received funding from the Community Relations Council (CRC) and the RBKC, was formed (La Rose 2004 and Cohen, 1993). The CAC and the CDC had opposing views about carnival, the former saw the Carnival as a political and economic tool for the betterment of the West Indian community, while the latter saw it as an expression of identity and creativity in own its right (Cohen, 1993). The rivalry between the two organisations continued until 1981 when the ACGB refused to fund either organisation but fund masquerade bands directly. It has been suggested that the ACGB used the existence of the two carnival organising bodies as an excuse to withdraw support and that there was a conspiracy which involved the ACGB, the authorities and the police to take control of the Carnival (Rouselle-Milner, 1996 cited by Connor & Farrar, 2004).

5.3.4 The Carnival Arts Committee (1981-1988)

In 1981, CDC without the ACGB's funding ceased operations, a newly established CAC in contrast had other funding sources. This organisation took over the organising of the Carnival in 1981 and this new body quickly sought to raise the profile of the Carnival and build relationships with state

organisations. Crucially, it is credited with securing funding from the GLC. It was also under this committee that the Carnival obtained its first permanent office, which was opened by the Mayor and Mayoress of the RBKC, and the first full-time paid member of staff was appointed (Cohen, 1993). By 1984/85, the funding received by the Carnival from public sources had shot up dramatically. The CDC had only received funding from the ACGB but ACGB minutes showed that this new committee received funding from the Commission for Racial Equality, the RBKC and the GLC through its community arts Black Arts Steering Group (ACGB, 1985). The ACGB during this period continued to fund masquerade bands directly through its Ethnic Arts Working Group.

Table 5.2

Public Funds for the Notting Hill Carnival for 1984/85

Funding Body	Amount (£)
Commission for Racial Equality (now defunct)	17,000
Royal Borough for Kensington and Chelsea (for toilets and cleaning)	27,000
Greater London Council (now GLA) through Black Arts Steering Group	69,962
Arts Council Great Britain (these funds went directly to masquerade bands)	37,000
Total	150,962

Source: Adapted from ACGB (1985)

The CAC also produced an annual glossy magazine documenting the Notting Hill Carnival which included endorsements from the Prime Minister, leaders of the main political parties, Scotland Yard chiefs and the Mayors of a number of London boroughs. Under the chairmanship of Alex Pascal, the CAC also extended its remit to supporting the UK's regional and European carnivals (ACGB, 1985). Pascal (1986) in his report on the Notting Hill Carnival highlighted his vision for the CAC to build and continue overseas affiliations. For example, he was keen that the CAC continue its association with

the Foundation of European Carnival Cities (FECC). In the report he contended that overseas organisations should form part of the “Future Business Machinery” of the Carnival.

However, even as Pascal spoke of the business of Carnival he was adamant that “the spectacle of the event should not be overshadowed by the invitation of big business enterprises in a ready-made market” (Pascal, 1987, p. 5), which echoes a commonly expressed fear of many organisers of community festivals. When community festivals are commercialised there is a real risk of cultural celebrations becoming “colourful, attractive, yet meaningless” spectacles (Whitford, 2009) staged primarily for financial benefits, such as tourism. It is argued that, in order to maintain authenticity, it is best that festivals are staged by small localities primarily for the communities concerned (Zammit, 2015) and not for the benefit of outsiders such as tourists, sponsors or national tourism agencies. However, as Zammit (2015) observes, it is precisely because of their authenticity that community festivals are so attractive to visitors. Even as the CAC’s chairman spoke passionately about guarding the festival against big businesses, attendance at the Carnival reached 1 million during his tenure (Cohen, 1993) making it all the more attractive to sponsors, although significant sponsorship would come six years after Pascal and the CAC were no longer responsible for managing the event.

The CAC, although seemingly initially embraced by public institutions and the UK establishment generally, soon found itself facing many of the same problems of the previous committee and also some new challenges of its own. Complaints regarding the heavy handedness of police continued as, throughout the 1980s, the number of police officers deployed at the Carnival numbered 7000-9000. In 1981 after the Brixton riots, the police deployed a record 13,000 officers to the Carnival, expecting a riot which did not occur (Cohen, 1993).

At 1987’s Carnival, there was a major confrontation between the police and spectators which resulted in injuries on both sides (Cohen, 1993). There was also the first recorded murder at the event, that

of Michael Augustine Galvin, a 23 year old stallholder (The Independent, 1993). In that year there were also calls from residents of Notting Hill to ban the Carnival or relocate it. A petition with signatures from the residents was sent to the ACGB who, although responding to the residents in defence of the Carnival stating that the “vast number of residents and guests enjoy the Carnival period enormously” (Smith, 1987, p. 1), were very critical of the CAC’s management. Amongst its criticisms were that the organisers did not look for sponsorship, they didn’t do a hard sell of the magazine and that they charged too little for stalls (Stote, Walwin, & Cleur, 1983, September). In one report, the ACGB (1985) stated that the attendance of 250,000 people at the Carnival should make public subsidy unnecessary.

In 1988, the Notting Hill Carnival became a major issue in the July Kensington parliamentary by-election, with leading candidates calling for tighter restrictions to be imposed on the event (Cohen, 1993). This was perhaps hardly surprising considering the press coverage of the carnival in the preceding year. Publications such as *The Times*, *The Independent* and *The Telegraph* all ran stories focusing on the policing at the event. An editorial in *The Times* blamed the organisers for their failure to manage the crowd, using what happened at the Carnival to criticise the Afro-Caribbean leadership for their ambivalence towards the police (*The Times*, 1987 cited by Cohen 1993). In August 1988, *The Independent* also leaked excerpts from a Coopers and Lybrand (the firm became PricewaterhouseCoopers due to a merger that year) report which detailed a number of criticisms of the CAC and recommended that they be replaced (Cohen, 1993).

5.3.5 From the Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Limited to the Notting Hill Carnival Trust (1989-2002)

At a public meeting in 1989, Claire Holder was asked to start a new carnival company because, as interviewee 18 put it, there was a “crisis in carnival”. Following the criticisms in the media, there were numerous resignations from the CAC board. The CAC was also £200,000 in debt. Interviewee 18 remembered:

“... Alex was resigning, this one was resigning ... there was nobody left and in May 1989, there was a public meeting at the Tabernacle where about 300 people gathered and they voted to start again.”

Interviewee 18 blames the demise of the CAC on the police who she said conducted a pseudo-financial investigation. She explained that PricewaterhouseCoopers’ role was never to investigate the CAC but to assist with the restructuring of the new carnival company, and that the report was commissioned by the RBKC. She explained that police levelled a number of accusations against the CAC (which were never subsequently proven) and the committee had no defence against these charges because they didn’t have the money to employ proper auditors and keep books in the way conventions dictate. This resulted in a presumption that the CAC must have been stealing money. Interviewee 18 maintained that the committee was innocent and the police charges were entirely groundless. Interviewee 18 related:

“... all the police did was disrupt people’s lives and hurt a lot of people with their wild allegations. A lot of people got mangled in it. The police and the council did that ...”

Cohen (1993), in contrast, citing leaked excerpts from the report published by *The Independent* offers a different explanation. The report had been commissioned by the CAC but paid for by the CRC. He explained that the report contained damning criticisms of the members of the governing body which included that they were too laid back, unprofessional and open to charges of corruption. Cohen (1993, p. 65) also asserts that the leaked report went on to fuel “a barrage of criticism in the national press, the radio and television” and that the police’s role was that of “spearheading the storm”. In Cohen’s often cited account, the CAC, as interviewee 18 also stated, had no published accounts or records to defend against the charges and that instead the committee accused “the system” (p.65), which meant the ACGB, the CRC and the RBKC, of trying to control carnival and they also tried to dismiss the report’s findings as racist by highlighting the links between the accounting firm and South Africa.

Interviewees 18, 22, 24 and 26 all echoed the opinions of the CAC that the state bodies were ultimately trying to get control of the festival. Given the achievements of the CAC during its short time in office with its limited resources, and also increasing support provided by the various statutory bodies to the festival over the years, there seems to be some credence to the view that the Notting Hill Carnival’s increasing success had made it a valuable entity that state institutions wished to align themselves with and take control of.

International events such as the Notting Hill Carnival are frequently targeted by politicians and other public officials because they believe the events will provide them with political mileage and prestige. Quite often these notions are based on “extravagant expectations” of the likely flow of benefits from inward investments (Gold & Gold, 2005, p. 5). One of chief criticisms of the CAC in the Coopers and Lybrand/PricewaterhouseCoopers report was that its members were “too feeble to exploit the tremendous financial potentialities of the festival” (Cohen, 1993, p. 65). The reality is that events such as the Notting Hill Carnival, because of the huge investments they require, are rarely profitable.

Most hallmark sporting events lose money despite the significant levels of public investment that are ploughed into them annually (Chalip, 2000). The justification that is offered to absorb the losses from the public purse is that the wider economic benefits generated will exceed the costs. In cases where event organisers are able to make a profit, Solberg (2003) asserts that this is largely due to the substantial amounts of free labour offered by volunteers in planning, organising, marketing and producing the events.

It is difficult to point to any evidence that the findings of the Cooper and Lybrand/PricewaterhouseCoopers report were racially motivated but the excerpts presented in the media suggest a naïve view of the money-making potential of large-scale events and a disregard for the problems that can arise when economic imperatives become of the focus of community festivals. As Hinch, Delamere, and Reid (1993) and Quinn (2006) suggest, monetary gains often come at the cost of community alienation and also loss of authenticity (Whitford, 2009).

The new organising committee was faced with a huge task; they had to rebuild the integrity of the Notting Hill Carnival as an organisation, pay off the debts and find a suitable structure for a new company. The report done by Cooper and Lybrand/PricewaterhouseCoopers offered little help. Interviewee 18 explained that the Finance Director (a member of the new organising committee), who was a trained accountant and the Head of a School of Finance and Accountancy at a UK University, quickly dismissed the recommendations regarding restructuring made by Cooper and Lybrand/PricewaterhouseCoopers as inappropriate for the Carnival. His assessment of the firm's proposed structure was that it was suited to a small community organisation with a local remit and that it would not address the challenges that the Notting Hill Carnival faced. The Notting Hill Carnival, in fact, had a national and international remit, so the Finance Director brought his own five-year development plan into the organisation. However, the new committee did recognise that

PricewaterhouseCoopers would lend their new organisation credibility as auditors so they retained this firm subsequently as their accountants.

Cohen (1993), and also many in the carnival community, suggested that the NHCEL did actually seem to follow some of the recommendations for raising money included in the Cooper and Lybrand/PricewaterhouseCoopers report such as licencing stalls, seeking sponsorship and selling broadcast rights. However, these suggestions were hardly new. The same recommendations were made by the ACGB some four years earlier (Stote et al., 1983). One suggestion that was not implemented by the NHCEL was the sale of a “carnival button” for 50p which Cooper and Lybrand/PricewaterhouseCoopers estimated would easily make £250,000. This idea also seemed very naïve as it seemed to gloss over the considerable costs of marketing and distribution for such a large number of small items and ignores the possibility of losses through counterfeiting and theft.

Additionally, although many saw the NHCEL as “sell outs” following the recommendations of Cooper and Lybrand/PricewaterhouseCoopers blindly, interviewee 18 maintains that for her and the members of her committee working with the Notting Hill Carnival has never been about making money.

The new committee settled on a limited by guarantee company structure, which was called Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Limited (in some articles the company is also referred to as the Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Committee or NHCEC). This name was jointly selected by the NHCEL board and the wider carnival community to signify the wealth the new company would generate. A new board of directors then set about working to implement the finance director’s five-year development plan, which interviewee 18 described as “getting their house in order”. She explained that, due to the demise of the CAC, it was absolutely vital that the new company show itself to be fiscally responsible, especially since the Carnival desperately needed to attract more funding as it had no money to pay

staff. In 1995, this plan would bear fruit. Notting Hill Carnival Limited signed its first major sponsorship contract with Coca-Cola for £1million over 3 years. The board by this time had decided to drop “Enterprise” from its name because, as interviewee 18 observed, it did them no favours in attracting sponsorship as it wrongfully gave the impression that Notting Hill Carnival was a thriving business, not one that was run by a struggling committee of volunteers.

The new sponsorship contract from Coca-Cola dramatically increased the funding to the Carnival but also brought new challenges. Like other events working with multi-nationals as sponsors, the Notting Hill Carnival became a target for ambush marketers. These are companies which try to trick the audience at an event into believing that they are sponsoring it when, in fact, they are not (Mazodier, 2012). In 1995, when the Notting Hill Carnival became the Lilt Notting Hill Carnival – after a new soft-drink launched by Coca-Cola. Pepsi which paid just £7,000, entered its own float into the parade filled to the brim with Liptonice, an iced-tea brand sold jointly by Pepsi and Britvic (Marshall, 1995). The move greatly angered Coca-Cola who had paid for naming rights but the NHCL managed to keep its sponsorship deal with Coca-Cola. A similar incident occurred in 1998 when Virgin Atlantic was title sponsor for the Carnival – the company had stepped in at the last minute to replace Nestle because negotiations had fallen through. Interviewee 18 explained:

“... it was all very competitive ...when Virgin sponsored Carnival, British Airways paid some man something like £20,000 to put up banners on the screens to interrupt the whole Virgin process. We managed to get him knocked off.”

After years of struggling, the NHCL climbed out of debt and started to amass reserves and was able to employ three full-time members of staff – a Chief Executive Officer, a Finance Director and a Secretary. Prior to this, Claire Holder, whose post was Chairman, and the board member in charge

of finances were working as unpaid volunteers. The sponsorship money also allowed for small appearance fees to be paid to cultural organisations that participated in the Carnival.

Although interviewee 18 credits NHCL's success during this period largely to sound financial planning, it can also be linked to broader societal trends which marked the late 1990s, such as the growing importance of experiential marketing (Schmitt, 1999) and the rise of the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 2011). Like other major events, the Notting Hill Carnival was now being seen as an opportunity for companies to create emotional connections with their products and/or brand through the medium of event/experiential marketing.

The NHCL also developed a range of income streams which made it less dependent on public sector funding. Interviewee 18 provided the estimates in Table 5.3

Table 5.3

Major Public and Private Sector Funding Sources 1995-1999

Funding Source	Amount £*
Title Sponsorship	350,000
London Arts Council - During this period London Arts Council (a successor to ACGB) funded the organising body directly	60,000
London Boroughs Grant Scheme	60,000
Stall Rentals	69,995**
Main Live Stage	45,000
Total	584,995

Notes:

* These amounts were raised on an annual basis.

** This figure was estimated based on averages calculated for the different types of stalls available at the Carnival. The total number of stalls at the Carnival was taken as 40 as according to the LDA's (2003) economic impact report. Using interviewee 18's estimates the revenues were calculated as follows:

20 ordinary stalls bringing in an income of between £110 and £240 (this was averaged as 165X20)	3,300.00
5 Ice-cream stalls which each brought in £460	2,300.00
15 bar sites bringing incomes of ranging from 960 to 1960 to 9960 (this was averaged as 4293X15)	64,395.00
Total	69,995.00

Other sources of funding mentioned for which annual estimates were not given (due to the great variations from year to year) included: the broadcast rights that were paid by the BBC to cover the Carnival; banner sites which were sold to sponsors who wanted their banners placed in strategic areas; and fees charged for smaller stage sites.

Interviewee 18 and the members of the NHCL did not share Pascal's fears about loss of authenticity resulting from commercialisation of the Carnival. Instead, like Cole (2007), they saw the commercial exploitation of the event as a source of empowerment for the Carnival community and the ability of the event to attract title sponsorship, in particular, as a source of pride for the cultural organisations participating. The revenues also allowed for some of the economic value generated by the Carnival to be returned to those involved in creation of the event.

Although many in the Carnival community were happy because the sponsorship fees allowed the NHCL to pay an appearance fee to each participant, some felt the NHCL was getting far too commercial and selling out to corporate interests. Chapters 6-8 of this thesis detail the reactions of the cultural arenas to these actions of the NHCL. Moreover, now that Notting Hill Carnival had become a hot property, attendance figures soared to 2 million (Nurse, 1999), creating unprecedented challenges for the police and local councils. See chapter 8 of this thesis for more details on these.

The NHCL during this period also continued to build relationships nationally and internationally. Interviewee 18 related:

“... Europeans began to wake up to what was going on in Notting Hill and every year they would send delegations to Notting Hill and we would sit down and go through our structure. People from Rotterdam, people from FECC. We were even given pride of place in the World Carnival Organisation. Everybody hung on our every word. They all wanted to be like Notting Hill, because the more I went around to these carnivals the more I realised that most of them did not have a business model [...] there were also local carnivals up and down the United Kingdom. We were travelling, we were going places and we were writing proposals. Listen, immediately after Notting Hill Carnival took place for about two weeks afterwards there was

one group after the next, officials from town halls, coming to be lectured on how to restructure their carnival.”

Perhaps the most crucial relationship forged during this period was the one the NHCL formed with Coca-Cola. As interviewee 18 explained, the company got more a lot more from their association than the money provided from sponsorship. It also gained expertise in managing sponsorship relationships and managing the Carnival's public image. After the contract with Coca-Cola ended, the member of staff who managed the sponsorship contract on the company's behalf offered her services to the NHCL. Interviewee 18 highlighted the specific contributions this staff member made:

“She was actually able to manage the sort of publicity we got after carnival. So people were starting to talk about the beauty of the mas'. Crime statistics weren't being mentioned at all because as far as she was concerned [...] she said look at the average football match about 100, 200 people arrested with just an audience of just 20,000. Carnival has 2 million, if 100 people get arrested, look at the scale, look at the disparity, so why should you allow them to publicise the fact that 100 people out of 2 million get arrested and they don't publicise the fact that 100 people out of a crowd of 20,000 get arrested in a football crowd.”

After securing Coca-Cola's sponsorship, the NHCL's staff and board revisited its structure and decided to set up a charity. It was felt that charitable status would strengthen the Carnival's ability to attract sponsorship. However, this decision was taken in 1997, prior to the Charities Act of 2006. This meant that if a charitable concern wanted to retain the advantages of incorporation, it needed to be registered and report to both Companies House and the Charity Commission. The organisation also needed to submit two annual returns, which created a huge amount of paperwork (Office of the Third Sector and the Charity Commission, 2007). So, in essence, what it meant was that the organisers had to run two organisations - a company and a charity. Interviewee 18 explained that, in anticipation

of the new Charities Act (around 1999), a decision was taken to close the company and transfer the assets to the charity – the Notting Hill Carnival Trust (NHCT). At that point, the original board members of the NHCL, who became paid members of the company, were not board members of the charity. They were, in fact, employees of the charity reporting to its board of trustees. Additionally, the other members of the NHCL were not trustees or members of the charity as the running of parallel organisations made this impossible. According to interviewee 18, the intention was to unite both sets of members under the new ‘Charitable Incorporated Organisation’, which is the first legal structure created specifically to meet the needs of charities. This structure offers “the benefits of incorporation, which are the creation of a ‘legal personality’ for the charity and limited liability for the trustees” (Office of the Third Sector and the Charity Commission, 2007, p. 15). This was to happen as soon as the Act came into effect.

In interviewee 18’s view, it was this decision which subsequently led to the undoing of the NHCT as some members of the board of trustees used their positions to turn the former company members against Claire Holder and her team with the assistance of the GLA’s Lee Jasper who was, at that time, the Mayor of London’s advisor on race relations and, according to another interviewee – interviewee 24 –, one of the most powerful Black men in London. Interviewee 18 contends that some NHCT board members began spreading malicious rumours about Claire Holder and her staff (still just three people), saying that they were hiding their actions from the Carnival community and that she wrongly employed members of her family. She also explained that Lee Jasper, after committing the GLA to pay £200,000 for additional stewarding at the Carnival, began purposely delaying payment to the NHCT, forcing the Trust to use its reserves to pay this overdue bill. After Claire Holder was forcibly removed from NHCT and dismissed from her job, interviewee 18 related that Lee Jasper pretended to “all and sundry” that Holder had “run off with the Carnival’s money”.

Holder was subsequently cleared of all charges of impropriety (Muir, 2004) and sued the trustees who had made the allegations against her. She was subsequently awarded £60,000 in damages in High Court (Howe, 2005).

There have been a few theories put forward as to why these accusations were made against Claire Holder. One viewpoint expressed is the one put forward by Darcus Howe, a former CDC committee member. He suggests Holder was deposed by Jasper in a coup (Connor & Farrar, 2004). In an article in the *New Statesman*, Howe (2002) states that he is certain that Lee Jasper was behind the nominations for a new Chief Executive to replace Claire Holder - although officially these came from the Mayor's Office. Among the nominees suggested by the Mayor's Office was Dr. Chris Mullard – a Black academic who would eventually be appointed to the position of Chair of the LNHCL. He went on to explain that Jasper had stood against Holder in an election for the top Carnival job and that he did not get a single vote. He proposed that Jasper, as a result, used the weight of the mayoralty and the power of money to get back at Holder.

Another theory is that Holder's position on the licensing of the event conflicted with that of the statutory bodies' and that the trustees of the NHCT sided with the RBKC and the GLA to undermine Holder. Former NHCT trustee Avion Mookram in an article in *The Guardian* suggested that some trustees simply wanted "to get Claire out" despite her 13 years of experience of running event, and the fact that many in the Carnival community felt she had the "health of the Carnival at heart" (Muir, 2003, p. 9). Interviewee 18 suggested it was a combination of these factors.

5.3.6 The London Notting Hill Carnival Limited (2003-2011)

Following Claire Holder's departure from the NHCT in 2002, a new company was established in May 2003 called London Notting Hill Carnival Limited which was chaired by Professor Chris Mullard. However, this new organisation was treated with a great deal of suspicion especially by state funding organisations. In 2003, Lee Jasper of the GLA withheld grants of £50,000 stating that the previous year's accounts for the NHCT were incomplete. The London Arts Council also withdrew its funding of £60,000, reverting to paying grants directly to masquerade bands only (BBC, 2005). The Notting Hill Carnival also was no longer attracting major sponsors. According to Claire Holder, following the murders of two people in 2000, the Carnival had lost a lot of its reputational resources so sponsors were staying away (Hall, 2001). Additionally, according to interviewee 18, once the £200,000 which the GLA owed to the NHCT was returned, it was quickly and unwisely spent. This meant that the cultural organisations suffered because they now had to make a case individually for funding and some of the smaller groups, or groups which could not meet the London Arts Council's requirements (for example, the static sound systems), lost their guaranteed appearance fees. This made appearing at the Carnival financially more difficult for some cultural organisations. See chapters 7 and 8 of this thesis for further details on how the demise of the NHCT affected masquerade bands and sound systems.

In 2003/04, the income for the Notting Hill Carnival was estimated at a paltry £165,447 as compared with annual estimate of nearly £600,000 given by interviewee 18 which would have been raised in the Carnival's heyday. However, in 2004 in anticipation of the 40th anniversary of the Carnival, three funding bodies came together to fund four paid positions to manage the Carnival - Director/Lead Coordinator, Events Manager, Office Manager and Finance Officer. The LNHCL did not have funds to retain a core staff. In the recommendation document approving a grant of £45,000 from the

Association of London Government, the contributed amounts of £69,455 from the RBKC and £9,255 from the Westminster Borough Council (WBC) were to be combined to fund these posts (Andrews, 2004).

It was also during this period that the first major research studies were commissioned to look into the business and operational aspects of the Notting Hill Carnival. The first study published in 2003 was *The Economic Impact of the Notting Hill Carnival*, which provided a profile of attendees, a description of the businesses and traders serving the event and estimates of the costs and economic benefits derived (London Development Agency, 2003). The second study published in 2004 was *Notting Hill Carnival: A Strategic Review*, which concentrated on improving the safety of the event. It made a number of recommendations, the most controversial being a revision of the parade route into a non-circular path ending in Hyde Park. However, there was a great deal of insistence, even amongst other public bodies, that the parade remain in the streets of Notting Hill (GLA, 2004 and Greater London Authority Carnival Review Group, 2001). The London Underground Limited, in particular, highlighted that such a move would not do anything to improve the safety of the event, just move the problems to another area and there would be a strong possibility of a splinter event also taking place on the streets of Notting Hill carnival anyway.

In 2005, Stephen Pascal was appointed Chief Executive Officer for the carnival. At that time there was still a great deal of suspicion surrounding the LNHCL. According to interviewee 24, Pascal was advised by many working within the events industry not to take on the job and he also felt that Pascal as an outsider (he was not Trinidadian nor was he from a Caribbean island) would not be a successful applicant for the position. However, Pascal was appointed and initially he worked with a paid staff of two people – an events manager and a business development manager. His first job was to write a vision document for the LNHCL board and he also looked at developing business models for the LHNCL. Like his predecessor Claire Holder, former CEO of the NHCL, he considered the

organisational structure of a large charity as a possible business model for the LHNCL. In the end he settled on the business model of Formula 1 as the way forward – a main business with many micro businesses operating within it. He also had to work on improving the credibility of the LHNCL organisation.

Since the demise of the NHCT, there were no longer professional auditors doing the books for the Notting Hill Carnival, so compliance and accountability became major issues for the LHNCL. Another urgent issue for Pascal and his team was raising sponsorship, especially since funding for his post was available for just three years. According to interviewee 24, for Pascal and his team, raising “the production values” of the Carnival was key to their sponsorship strategy. The Steel Bands’ Panorama competition was moved to Hyde Park in 2007 and a budget of £150,000 was negotiated from the GLA for this purpose. In 2008, the show was also professionally produced by a production company and included large screen televisions. This proved to be a controversial move which was met with some resistance from traditionalists who, according to interviewee 24, responded by saying “nah man me want to be on de street.” Another aspect of the sponsorship strategy was the hiring of an event management/marketing company to source sponsorship on behalf of the LNHCL. Neither of these initiatives made a significant impact on sponsorship for the Carnival, ultimately it was work done by the Chief Executive Officer and the Business Development Manager that yielded greatest results. Significant sponsorship was also received from unsolicited enquiries. For example, Pascal and his team in 2007 signed two sponsorship deals with foreign companies: Carib Brewery Trinidad Ltd, a Trinidadian Brewer, and Desnoes and Geddes Limited (D&G), a Jamaican brewer and beverage producer. This was in addition to deals with Choice FM, the Nice Car Company, ITV, Cool Cache Brands Limited and former title sponsor Western Union. Interviewee 26 suggested that, ultimately, private event management/marketing companies were unable to successfully solicit sponsorship on behalf of the LNHCL for the Carnival because they were unable to reconcile the concept of selling sponsorship with not having ownership and control over an event.

Pascal's team had much less funding than its predecessors for a variety of reasons. Interviewee 24 highlighted a problem with the LNHCL directors diverting enquiries that came in to the LNHCL office to their own businesses or cultural interest groups (LNHCL directors each represented a cultural interest group) may have significantly reduced the funding generated for the Carnival. He cited two specific examples of international business enquiries which were intercepted by LNHCL directors. In one instance, a former director for the LNHCL subsequently went to work for the Carnival Calabar in Nigeria, whilst additionally, another former director secured a business contract in China. In both cases, LNHCL failed to benefit financially from those enquiries. Interviewee 24 explained that the reasons the enquiries from Carib Brewery Trinidad Ltd and Desnoes and Geddes Limited (D&G) came through to LNHCL is because systems were put in place to prevent the directors from taking enquiries from sponsors – all such enquiries were at that point to be routed through the Business Development Manager in the first instance or to Pascal.

Revenues were also lost because the RBKC took over the rental of stalls for the street traders, which during the 1990s had been a predictable and substantial source of funding. The loss of this funding was highlighted by interviewees 22, 24 and 27 as extremely significant since the rent on a single stall during their service to the LNHCL could be as high as a few thousand pounds. However, interviewee 26 stated that the RBKC had no option but to take control of the stalls after numerous complaints about the lack of transparency shown by the LNHCL in allocating stalls. Another source of funding that was no longer available was the fees paid for the main live stage – it was discontinued because of the health and safety concerns raised. In 2000, the Radio One live stage became so crowded that, at the request of the senior police officer for the area, the event was shut down to minimise the risk to the public. In the years 2001 and 2002, there were no live music stages. From 2003, live music stages were reintroduced but these were much smaller than the Radio One live stage (GLA, 2004).

However, in the end, it was not because of financial reasons that Pascal and his team were not retained beyond the initial three years their positions were funded for. According to interviewee 24, it was because of disagreements between Pascal and the board:

“... they [the LNHCL board] turned, they basically turned [...] then they started to stop paying the money ...”

Thus Pascal and his team left in a similar manner to Holder and her team. According to interviewee 18, Claire Holder arrived one day to find her offices locked and her salary stopped without explanation. However, the actions of the board should really have come as no surprise to Pascal. He, with the assistance of his Business Development Manager, provided estimates of the lost revenues to all LNHCL directors and staff that came about as a result of business enquiries being intercepted by individuals on the LNHCL board. His intention in doing so was to prevent further revenues being lost to the LNHCL. Interviewee 24 felt these actions were justified as it exposed unethical behaviour. However, unlike Pascal, LNHCL directors would not have been paid for their services and they may have come to see the intercepting of these business opportunities as a perk of board membership. With event volunteers, such as the LNHCL directors, although intrinsic motivations (for example, sharing their culture and heritage with others and serving the Afro-Caribbean community) may have been the primary reasons for their board membership, extrinsic motivations such as networking and possible employment opportunities would also play a role. This has been a consistent finding in research published on event volunteers (Elstad, 2003; Monga, 2006 and Giannoulakis, Wang, & Gray, 2007).

In 2008, there was a major change in the management and organisation when Professor Chris Mullard left and was succeeded by Chris Boothman. Like Claire Holder, Boothman was also a trained solicitor and practiced as a barrister. Interviewee 27 explained that Chris had been a former director

of LNHCL under Mullard but left due to fears of impropriety amongst board members. He subsequently ran against Mullard in the elections run by the board for the chairmanship position and narrowly lost but was invited to be Chairman when Mullard left the post. On taking up the post, Boothman found himself in a similar position to Holder with no money to pay staff. However, in contrast to Holder, he had to contend with an existing set of board members who were very resistant to change. According to interviewee 27, Boothman dismissed all the members and appointed a new board. A key member of this new board was Ancil Barclay, also a practicing solicitor, and it was mainly between Boothman and Barclay that the key tasks of this new LNHCL (interviewee 27 described the organisation as “LNHCL 2”) were completed. The duo faced significant challenges. First and foremost, they had to establish relationships with external stakeholders, particularly the local councils (RBKC mainly) and the GLA. Secondly, there was the challenge of the debts that the LNHCL owed that needed to be paid off. Interviewee 27 explained that, firstly, they got the statutory bodies (RBKC and the GLA) to agree to contribute a sum to pay off the debts, next they had to establish the debts were “proper debts”, and then they went through a process mitigating the debts. According to another interviewee, interviewee 22, the duo were ultimately successful because of a combination of successful mitigation and careful budgeting. He highlighted mistakes made by the previous LNHCL board that led to money being spent unnecessarily. These included an invoice for production costs in which the VAT was not added, which led to a shortfall and what interviewee 22 described as an excessive catering bill of £29,000 pounds which was subsequently cut down to £5,000.

Interviewee 22 and 27 both felt that the LNHCL board were successful in building relationships with external stakeholders such the London Metropolitan Police, Transport for London and private sponsors. Among its achievement, the new LNHCL counted attracting cash sponsorship from a games company, DJ Hero (The Notting Hill Carnival, 2013) and in-kind sponsorship from Angostura, a Trinidadian spirits company. It was also successful in attracting international export opportunities

for Notting Hill Carnival cultural organisations. Mahogany (a masquerade band) and Ebony (a steel band) were sent to Hong Kong by the LNHCL to be a part of the Chinese New Year celebrations in 2010. LNHCL also sent Notting Hill Carnival cultural organisations to the Paleo festival (Switzerland's answer to Glastonbury) as well as Nigeria's Carnival Calabar and South Africa's Cape Town Carnival. Interviewee 22 explained that although overseas enquiries came into the LNHCL, the organisation did not really have the infrastructure needed to profit from them. Thus when enquiries came in from overseas in the first instances, the organisation was limited to passing these enquiries along to cultural organisations that participated in the Notting Hill Carnival. However, interviewee 22 explained that Boothman and Barclay learned from these initial experiences and ensured that a small management fee was negotiated for the appearance made by cultural organisations at the Paleo Festival of £7,500.

There were also considerable challenges faced by this new LNHCL. Interviewee 27, for example, highlighted lost opportunities due to the difficulties that arose from being responsible for an event yet having no ownership over it:

“One of the biggest problems for any carnival is ownership of the assets. Where you have the Trinidad-type model or a model where the company can control the streets, you can control the buildings. You have something you can sell. We never had that in Notting Hill. We were always doing it through the council [...] so every year we would have this battle about what we could brand, what we could sell, what rights we had.”

He cited a live music stage deal with Jamaican beer brand Red Stripe that was lost due to the council (RBKC) who “frustrated the whole process” because “they just weren't comfortable with having reggae artists on stage”. He also explained, because of lack of clear ownership, LNHCL often found itself competing with the cultural organisations within the Notting Hill Carnival for funding and other

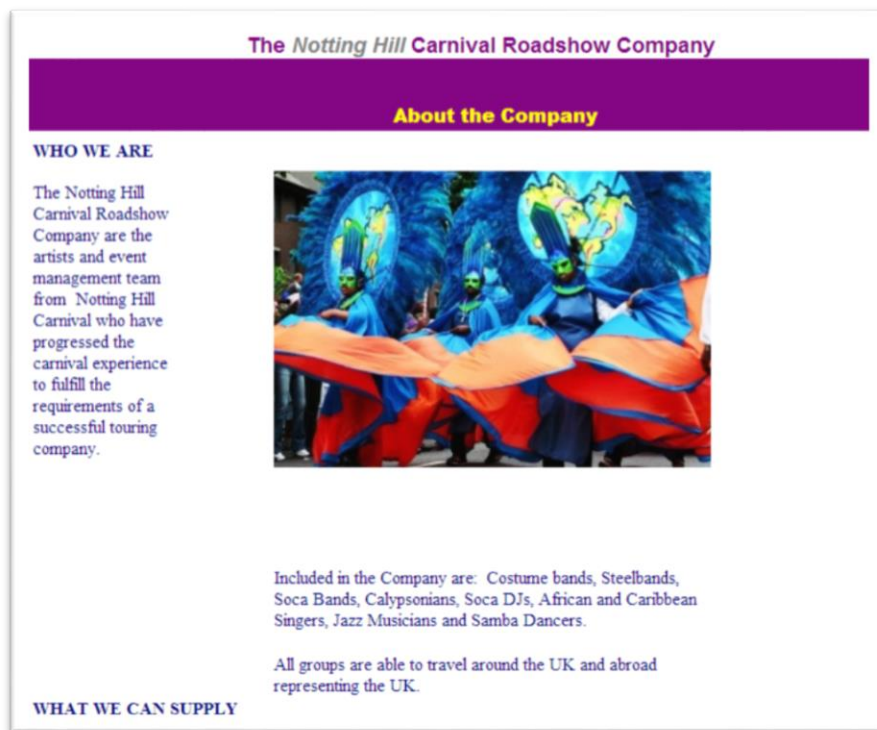
opportunities. For example, trying to sell London Notting Hill Carnival souvenirs when masquerade bands, steel bands and sound systems all have their own souvenirs to sell. Additionally, the Seychelles government mistakenly extended an invitation to the Notting Hill Carnival Roadshow believing that the organisation was part of the LNHCL. The Notting Hill Carnival Roadshow works with steel bands, sound systems and masquerade bands from the Notting Hill Carnival to take the Notting Hill Carnival experience on the road but it is a private business not part of the Carnival's official organising body (The Notting Hill Carnival Roadshow Company, n.d). The description of the organisation offered on its website highlights how easily this error could be made, especially by someone from overseas. See Figure 5.2. The Notting Hill Carnival Roadshow staff includes individuals who were part of the Notting Hill Carnival's central organising body in the past and the organisation describes itself as "the event management team from the Notting Hill Carnival". This phrase would most likely be understood to mean the current central organising body. Moreover, the LNHCL also found itself competing with the Trinidad and Tobago's NCC who tried to offer its services to the Paleo Festival by offering the festival organisers a lower price.

Boothman and Barclay are quoted in the news media as having resigned due to funding worries (Topping, 2011). Interviewee 22 highlighted the fact that for their entire tenure, Boothman and Barclay were unpaid volunteers and were only able to recruit one paid staff member in 2011 from money they had raised from sponsorship. Interviewee 27 claims that Boothman's and Barclay's resignations were really due to the failure of the LNHCL board to establish relationships with the Carnival's internal stakeholders and the lack of cohesion amongst the Notting Hill's Carnival cultural organisations. He highlighted two missed opportunities for the LNHCL that came about a lack of consensus in the Notting Hill Carnival community. He explained that a "Festival of Carnivals" had been a major part of the London 2012 Olympic bid and that the LNHCL were approached to be part of the London 2012 Olympics but were unable to do so as an entity because a collective agreement could not be reached. The situation was exacerbated by masquerade bands making "side deals" with

the ACE (Arts Council England, formerly ACGB) to do their own Olympic projects. There was also a four-year deal discussed between the Brazilian government and the LNHCL for a four-year contract commencing in 2012 in the run-up to the 2016 Olympics in Rio de Janeiro which also fell through.

Figure 5.2

Web page of the Notting Hill Carnival Roadshow Company's description



Source: The Notting Hill Carnival Roadshow Company (n.d)

5.3.7 The London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust (2012-present)

After the departure of Boothman and Barclay, a new organisation called the London Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Trust was established. A private company, Realizar, was also brought in to

manage some key tasks. According to interviewee 26, the RBKC has always supported the LHNCL initiatives which involved working with private companies. However, he also explained that these initiatives have never lasted. After some initial success, working relationships between Realizar and the LNH CET “broke down”. However, despite these setbacks over 1 million attendees were recorded at the 2012 and 2013 carnivals, which were largely without incident even though there was a great deal of media focus on the waste created (Moore, 2013) and arrests made at the event (Chan, 2013).

5.4 Notting Hill Carnival’s Operations

5.4.1 Inputs (Infrastructure, Services, Funding)

The various organising bodies for the Notting Hill Carnival have worked and continue to work with a range of public and private sector organisations to source the infrastructure and services needed to stage the event. The inputs can be summarised as infrastructure, services and funding. As was previously highlighted in section 5.2, the infrastructure for the event has been provided primarily by three key organisations; the RKBC, the MPS and the GLA. However, sponsors have in the past and still continue to provide infrastructure and other material inputs as part of sponsorship packages. An example of this type of sponsorship was highlighted by interviewee 26, he explained that Nice Car had supplied the event with electric powered vehicles. Similarly, whilst key services such as sanitation, cleaning and medical care are supplied mainly by the statutory and voluntary organisations which form part of the OPSG (see section 5.2), other services such as private security for masquerade bands and sound systems and equipment and vehicle hire are provided by local private sector firms who are hired by the cultural organisations participating in the festival.

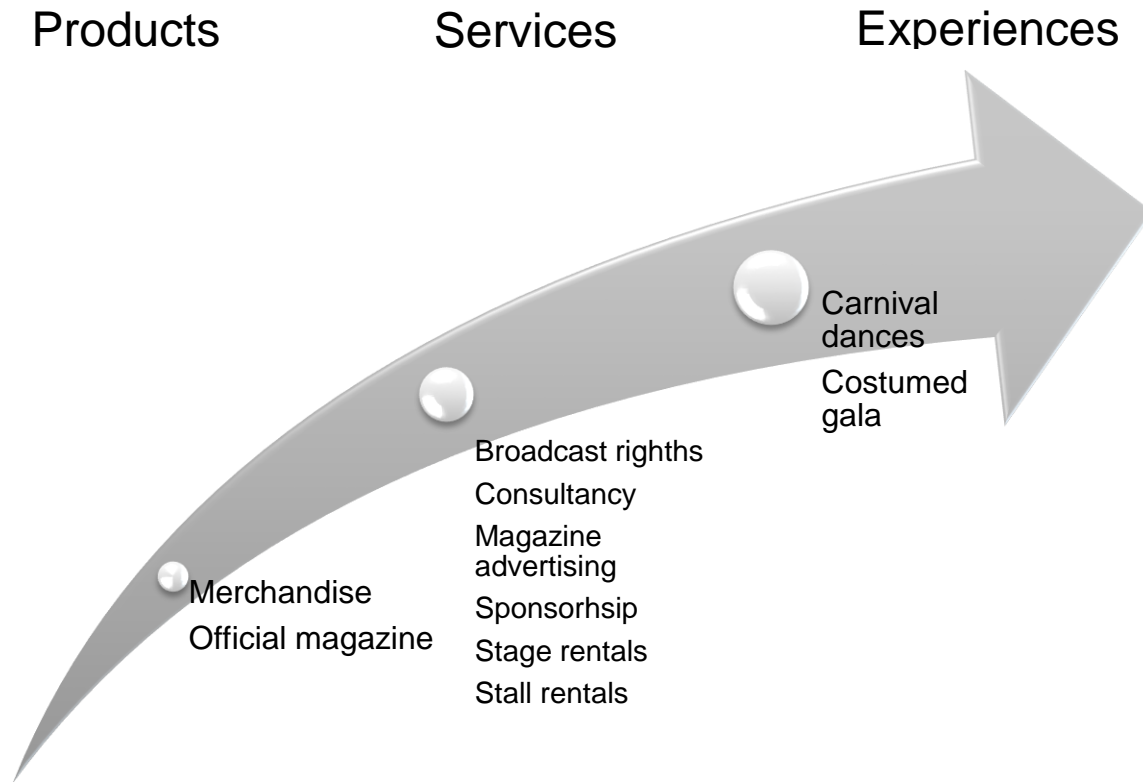
5.4.2 Outputs (Products, Services and Experiences)

Starting from the 1970's, the Notting Hill Carnival organisers have produced a range of experiences, and more recently services, and also physical products. See Figure 5.3. These offerings were, and are, mainly produced to raise additional income needed to stage the Carnival. The first of these were the Carnival dances held at the Tabernacle on Powis Square in Notting Hill, and the Costumed Gala held at the Commonwealth Institute on Kensington High Street in London. Both these events were managed by the CDC. In the 1980s, the newly-formed CAC started attracting sponsorship and produced a magazine which was funded by advertising. The CDC also raised money by renting stalls. However, it is in the 1990s when the commercialisation of the Carnival peaked, and that the greatest variety of products, services and experiences were offered by the central organising body, the NHCL, and later the NHCT. These included the *Notting Hill Carnival Official Magazine*, sponsorship, stall rentals, rental of stage sites, advertising space in the magazine and broadcast rights. During this period, the organising body also acted as unpaid consultants to carnival organisations in Europe and throughout the United Kingdom.

After Claire Holder's controversial departure in 2002, many of the commercial avenues for fundraising were no longer available to the NHCT's successor LHNCL. The large live stage was discontinued due to health and safety reasons and the majority of the stall rentals were taken over by the RBKC. However, recent overseas enquiries have highlighted the potential for Notting Hill Carnival's central organising body to act as an overseas agent and also provide consultancy services. In particular, the case of the Paleo Festival in which the LNHCL not only acted as agents but was also able to secure a small management fee of £7,500 from the event's organisers. The LNHCL also tried, although unsuccessfully, to sell branded merchandise.

Figure 5.3

Product, Service and Experience Offerings of the Notting Hill Carnival's Central Organising Body



5.5 Notting Hill Carnival and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit

Interviewee 18, amongst others interviewed, credited the Notting Hill Carnival as the source of a number of UK and European Carnivals. She explained that in the 1980s and 1990s, a number of carnivals sought advice and technical assistance from the CAC and later the NHCL and NHCT:

“Notting Hill started Luton Carnival, Notting Hill started Liverpool, Notting Hill started Huddersfield, Notting Hill started Birmingham Carnival [...] Notting Hill Carnival and people from Notting Hill Carnival in these outsider cities and towns [...] There is a long list of carnivals that owe their existence to Notting Hill Carnival.”


Interviewee 18 also mentioned Rotterdam Carnival as a Trinidad-style carnival which sought advice from Notting Hill Carnival organisers. See Figure 5.4.


Figure 5.4


The Notting Hill Carnival and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit (1980s - 1990s)



KEY

 UK Trinidad-style Carnivals

 European Trinidad-style Carnival

 Organising-body activity


 Band activity

Figure 5.4 depicts the locations and start dates of the UK and European Trinidad-style carnivals mentioned by interviewee 18. It is quite striking that Luton, Birmingham and Huddersfield all started as local community-based events which eventually evolved into larger Trinidad-style Carnivals (see Chapter 3 of this thesis for details). So, although strictly speaking the Notting Hill Carnival did not start these events, given their dates of their origin and their evolution into Trinidad-style carnivals it is very likely that, as interviewee 18 suggests, the Notting Hill Carnival was a driving force in the development of these carnivals. Interviewee 18 also related that the NHCL also hosted a number of management development workshops and she said that representatives from other UK carnivals would often join Notting Hill Carnival board members and band leaders at these sessions. Liverpool's carnival is a Trinidad-style carnival that was developed by Brouhaha International. The organisation's artistic director is also a masquerade band leader in the Notting Hill Carnival (BBC, 2005a). This carnival provides an example of a carnival that came about, as interviewee 18 explained, due to the actions of an individual at the band level, rather than from "committee level".






In the 2000s, the Notting Hill Carnival extended its influence to the recently established Calabar and Cape Town Carnivals which were developed by local authorities in Nigeria and South Africa with the assistance of Trinidad's NCC. These carnivals, like many others in the Caribbean and Europe, are not linked to a pre-existing festival or a migrant population as they were created by local authorities as tourism products. Once again, although the Notting Hill Carnival organisers were not the originators of these carnivals, they have played a significant role in their development. Interviewee 24 indicated a former LNHCL director went to work for the Carnival Calabar and interviewee 22 cited specific instances in which the LNHCL acted as an agent to send Notting Hill Carnival bands to these events. As depicted in Figure 5.5, the Notting Hill Carnival's influence on these carnivals has been at both organising body and band level. Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis explore the role of steel bands and masquerade in the internationalisation of the Trinidad Carnival in more detail.

Figure 5.5

The Notting Hill Carnival and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit (2000s - 2013)



KEY

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
|  UK Trinidad-style Carnival |  African Trinidad-style Carnivals |  Trinidad Carnival |
|  Organising-body activity |  Band activity | |

5.6 Notting Hill Carnival and Other Festivals

The last decade has also seen the Notting Hill Carnival play a part in the spreading of cultural forms of Trinidad-style carnivals to destinations outside of the Trinidad-style carnival circuit. The LNHCL acted as agents for masquerade and steel bands who travelled to HongKong for Chinese New Year and Sweden's Paleo festival. Enquiries also came from carnival organisers in Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe. These carnivals have no link to the Trinidad carnival but the organisers saw the Notting Hill Carnival as a source of knowledge and expertise. The LNHCL, because of being chronically understaffed, were not able act on these enquiries (according to interviewee 22) but they perhaps will be opportunities the LNH CET will exploit. See Figure 5.6.

Figure 5.6

Notting Hill Carnival and Other Festivals



KEY

- UK Trinidad-style Carnivals
- Other Carnivals or Festivals
- Organising-body activity
- Band activity

5.7 International Market Activity

The potential of the international network of Trinidad-style and other carnivals was highlighted as a source of income by the central organising body of the Notting Hill Carnival since the 1980s. Alex

Pascal, former Chairman of the CAC, in his 1986 report on the Notting Hill Carnival described international carnival organisations as a critical part of the “Future Business Machinery” of the festival. Since the demise of the CAC, the Notting Hill Carnival’s central organising bodies have been active influencers of Trinidad-style carnivals both within the UK and overseas. However, in terms of international business generated from these international linkages, the Notting Hill Carnival’s central organising bodies have been more facilitators rather than direct recipients. In comparison, the cultural organisations that participate in the Notting Hill Carnival (for example, steel bands, masquerade bands and sound systems), the Notting Hill Carnival’s central organising bodies’ business transactions with international markets have been fairly modest. The mention of paid exports by the central organising body was limited to the management fee paid for booking a masquerade and steel band for the Paleo Festival in Switzerland and the sponsorship deals struck with the Trinidadian and Jamaican beverage companies. Particularly striking also is the lack of inward international business activity as compared to cultural organisations that participate in the Notting Hill Carnival. The only inward internationalisation that seems to have taken place was in the 1970s when Leslie Palmer took a delegation to Trinidad to study the organisational structure of the Trinidad Carnival’s CDC and to import costumes.

5.8 Analysis

The Notting Hill Carnival has gone through tremendous changes in terms of its organisational structures, stakeholder groups and content. Like many festivals and events the initial meaning and purpose of the Notting Hill Carnival has changed and evolved significantly in its fifty-year history. In Chapter 3 of this thesis, the Notting Hill Carnival is described as a Trinidad-style carnival which was established because the organisers wished to enhance an existing festival. Like the festival organisers of the Bristol St. Paul’s Afrikan Caribbean Carnival and the Barbados Crop Over Festival,

the “Trinidadianising” of the Notting Hill Carnival was seen as a way of increasing interest in the event and also expanding it. The adding of Trinidad-style masquerade, for example, provided a justification for the Arts Council to provide funding. However, like the St. Paul’s Afrikan Caribbean Carnival and Crop Over Festival, the adding of Trinidadian elements was not the only adaptation to the Notting Hill Carnival that was made. Festival organiser, Leslie Palmer, also introduced a local adaptation by inviting local sound systems to play at the festival. These DJs were primarily Jamaican immigrants living in the Notting Hill area and they played music which was popular with British-born Black youth. It is this local adaptation that caused attendance at the festival to grow exponentially, forever transforming it from a local community event to an international major event.

Throughout its history, the Notting Hill Carnival’s various organising bodies have played a key role in the establishment and adaptation of this festival to its host market. However, they were not the sole shapers for the event; statutory bodies such as the ACGB (now ACE), the MPS, the RBKC and the GLA were also important stakeholders which exerted influence over how the festival has developed. The often stormy relationships between the various central organising bodies and these organisations, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, highlight the contested nature of the festival. During this period, the leaders of the CDC, CAC, NHCEL and NHCL often found themselves constantly at odds with statutory bodies. Eventually, from the 1990s, the private sector began to play an important role in shaping the Notting Hill Carnival into a highly sought- after sponsorship opportunity. The evolution of the Notting Hill Carnival from a community festival celebrating the cultures of immigrants to a hallmark event providing a range of social, economic and political benefits for the city of London in some ways resembles the transformation of many sub-cultures which have eventually been appropriated, commodified and redefined by the dominant cultures which they seek to contest (Hebdige, 1979). This evolution can also be compared to the embedding of a foreign subsidiary to its host-market and the interactions of the stakeholders likened to those in a foreign firms host network. Various actors within Notting Hill Carnival’s networks have played key roles in

establishing and embedding this event with Trinidadian origins in its host community of Notting Hill, the city of London and the UK as a whole.

5.8.1 The Role of Actor-Networks in Embedding the Notting Hill Carnival in its Host Market

Government bodies such as the ACGB, RBKC and GLA have aided in the embedding process by providing funding and also publicly stating their support of the festival, sometimes even defending the event against the criticisms of residents. As is the case with multi-national firms, political embeddedness (Welch & Wilkinson, 2004) has been very important for the development of the Notting Hill Carnival. However, the experiences of the various central organising bodies also highlight the dynamic value of political embeddedness within changing business environments (Sun, Mellahi, & Thun, 2010). In the face of changing political priorities and cuts in public funding, the event's central organising bodies have arguably paid the price for their close alignment and dependence on state funding bodies. Since the departure of Steve Pascal in 2008, statutory bodies have not funded any paid management positions to oversee the delivery of the event. They have also cut funding to the central organising bodies on a number of occasions throughout the event's fifty year history.

Customers and suppliers have also been equally, if not more, important for the embedding process. The acceptance of the festival by attendees and later on by sponsors has demonstrated the event's appeal, justifying public investments in the event and positioned the event internationally as a successful model to be emulated. Subcontractor relationships as described by Bell (1995) and inward connections as highlighted by Welch and Luostarinen (1993) have not been significant, nor surprisingly has the network of Trinidad-style carnivals to which the Notting Hill Carnival belongs. Its contact with Trinidad's NCC (formerly CDC) has been fairly minimal. Since the initial visit made by Palmer in 1974 to the CDC, there has been no other reported contact between central organising

bodies of the Trinidad and the Notting Hill Carnivals. However, the NHCL, NHCT and LNHCL have been influential shapers of other Trinidad-style carnivals in Europe and, more recently, Africa.

Over the 50 year history, there have been a number of key actors who have come forward to shape the Notting Hill Carnival – starting with Rhuane Laslett who created a multi-cultural fayre and, later on, various committees such as CDC and CAC which went on to fashion a Trinidad Carnival, then an enlarged Caribbean Carnival and, later on, a Black Arts Festival. See Table 5.5. With each new focal actor's reframing of the Carnival, the festival space has expanded with the enrolling of an increasing number of new stakeholder groups, arguably making each successive framing or translation of the event (see Callon, 1986a and Callon, 1986b) more unstable. Each group has their own goals and objectives but they must work together to collectively stage an event in the absence of specific rules and regulations. The framing is only able to be maintained by voluntary compliance.

In contrast to research-driven network systems, on which a great deal of ANT research is based, no one group is able to emerge as a voice of authority (see Callon, 1986a) or demonstrate itself to be indispensable to the festival (see Callon, 1986b). Over time, largely through its increased investment in the Carnival, State bodies (in particular, the RBKC and the GLA) have gradually increased their influence but even their control over the festival is tenuous. For example, the GLA is simply not able to change the route of carnival. This is pointed out by the emergency services which support the Carnival, who explain that the mandating of a change in route which ends in Hyde Park will not prevent a Notting Hill Carnival from taking place on the streets anyway (GLA, 2004).

However, it can also be argued that the susceptibility of the festival's translations to failure and the permeable nature of its points of passage are precisely what enabled the Notting Hill Carnival to become so deeply embedded in its host market. With each successive framing of the Carnival, more and more stakeholder groups became enrolled – starting with Caribbean cultural organisations and

practitioners, then public sector agencies and, later on, private sector sponsors. Each of these groups of stakeholders brought new resources to the Carnival but also new challenges. To overcome these challenges, the various central organising bodies have consistently been able to enrol new actors to acquire additional resources from its host market, a strategy which has not only successfully embedded the festival in its host market but also ensured its longevity.

Table 5.4

Outcomes of the Interactions of Network Actors in the Notting Hill Carnival's Embedding Processes for the Central Organising Bodies

Problem Framing & Time period	Focal Actor	Obligatory Passage Point	Key Actors Enrolled	Outcomes for the Notting Hill Carnival
Multi-cultural Fayre (1964-1969)	Rhuane Laslett	Part of Notting Hill's diverse immigrant community	Local community organisations Afro-Caribbean community Steel bands	Name change from Notting Hill Fayre to Notting Hill Carnival Attendance gets to 10,000
Trinidadian Carnival (1970-1974)	Carnival Development Committee (CDC)	Fit with Trinidadian Carnival culture	Caribbean organising committee Leslie "teacher" Palmer CDC in Trinidad Masquerade bands	CDC established Trinidadian management and artistic forms added to the Carnival
Caribbean Carnival (1975-1979)	Carnival Development Committee (CDC)	Fit with Caribbean Culture	ACGB CRC RKBC Static sound systems	Rival committee to the CDC, the CAC established Attendance gets to 250,000 Public funding bodies get involved with carnival
Black Arts Festival (1980-1989)	Carnival Arts Committee (CAC)	Fit with Black/ethnic arts framing	Art Council's Ethnic Arts Working Group Commission for Racial Equality Greater London Council's (now GLA) Black Arts Steering Group	Public funding to organising committee increases to over £150,000 First paid staff member retained CAC gets official offices Attendance gets to 1,000,000
Sponsorship Opportunity (1990-2002)	NCHL/NHCT	Fit with NHCL/NHCT entrepreneurial agenda	Title Sponsors London Boroughs Grant Scheme Broadcasters PricewaterhouseCoopers	£1,000,000 sponsorship deal signed 3 paid staff retained Notting Hill Carnival broadcasted on BBC Attendance gets to £2,000,000
London Notting Hill Carnival (2002-present)	Greater London Authority/RKBC	Fit with public agency requirements	Greater London Authority Paddington Development Trust Private event management agencies	Loss of main live stage and stalls as income generators Public review and impact assessment published for the Notting Hill Carnival Public safety measures tightened

5.8.2 Modes of Internationalisation (Imports and Exports)

When compared to the cultural organisations that participate in the Notting Hill Carnival, the central organising body has been fairly limited in its international business activity (see chapters 6-8 of the thesis). The only importing observed was the costumes brought to the Notting Hill Carnival by Leslie Palmer on his fact-finding mission to Trinidad in 1973. The exports have been limited to sponsorship of Caribbean-based companies and, more recently, management services to Switzerland's Paleo Festival. However, there are signs that export activities will expand given the recent enquiries from China and the African countries of Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe.

For the Notting Hill Carnival, it appears that the initial import activity was a necessary precursor to developing the festival in its host market and its eventual export activity. However, it is not possible to make definitive claims as to a relationship between imports and exports for the central organising body because as Welch & Luostarinen, 1993 observe, it is difficult to make these connections when the export activity has not been immediate and has evolved over time through a variety of mechanisms. These connections would also not have been made by other researchers because of the difficulties in following longitudinal processes (Arndt, 1985; Mintzberg & McHugh, 1985), and international business activity for the central organising body is still fairly limited. The initial visit made by Palmer to Trinidad and the importing of costumes should still, nonetheless, be viewed as significant because of the "changes generated" by the activity (Welch & Luostarinen, 1993, p. 47). These changes transformed a community-event into a Trinidad-style carnival, thereby giving not only the central organising body but the participating cultural organisations participating in the event access to an international network of Trinidad-style and other carnivals.

The initial export experiences shared by the interviewees also serve to underscore the fact that the Notting Hill Carnival as an international festival faces the same challenges as many international businesses. For instance, as part of an international network of Trinidad-style carnivals, the Notting Hill Carnival's organising body also faces global competition in exporting its managerial expertise and other services. The producers of Trinidad-style carnivals globally compete with the producers of other types of Carnivals and with each other to provide their services to cities wishing to establish their own Trinidad-style carnivals, and festival organisers wishing to incorporate carnival elements such as costuming and steel bands into their events. The interviews also highlighted that for the LNHCL, the NCC of Trinidad is a key competitor. The organisers of the Cape Town and Calabar carnivals have sought technical assistance from both LNHCL and the NCC. In the case of the Paleo Festival, the LNHCL was the festival organisers' first choice and the NCC tried to compete with the LNHCL by offering a lower price.

Another issue that has been identified is that of brand piracy. The words "London", "Notting Hill" and "Carnival" because they are part of everyday language cannot be trademarked (Mazodier, 2012) so there are no legal restrictions to prevent businesses from passing off, or offering a similar product and retaining a trademark which is similar in appearance (Kaitiki 1981) to the London Notting Hill Carnival's official organising body. Brands are particularly susceptible to piracy when products travel to overseas markets, as buyers overseas are more likely to be misled by tactics such as passing off because they are not as familiar as buyers from the home country with the original product or brand. The web page of the Notting Hill Carnival Roadshow can be seen as one of many ways private businesses could potentially pass themselves off as the Notting Hill Carnival's central organising body.

5.8.3 Process of Internationalisation

As the central organising bodies for the Notting Hill Carnival has been fairly limited in its international business activity, it is not yet possible to describe its behaviour as a process. In the three instances where exports were made, it came about as a result of the key decision makers' learning and experience in their roles. With the first two opportunities, Steve Pascal's team had to implement a system to ensure overseas business opportunities were not lost to the LNHCL's directors. In the third instance, Boothman and Barclay had to develop a pricing policy so that the LNHCL could benefit from overseas requests for cultural performers. These initial steps taken by the LNHCL towards international business activity suggest that, for the central organising body, international business will be an incremental process as decision-makers develop their skills and experience with international markets. This type of behaviour is consistent with innovation models of internationalisation (Bilkey & Tesar, 1977) which examine pre-export behaviour in an attempt to determine the reason for initiation of international activities (Wiedersheim-Paul et al., 1978). With an innovation model of internationalisation, it is proposed that decision-makers consider export opportunities in relation to perceived internal and external forces before taking action.

5.9 Key Insights (Challenges and Opportunities of Festival Internationalisation)

The interviews highlight that the central organising body for the Notting Hill Carnival is competing with the NCC of Trinidad and other central organising bodies of Trinidad-style carnivals in the global market for customers of consultancy services and potential sponsors for carnivals and carnival-related activities. The popularity of the Notting Hill Carnival and the proximity of London to a host of European cities, along with its status as a world city, arguably made the LNHCL the first choice for many cities or festival organisers seeking technical services in the management of carnivals or

carnival-type activities. The Notting Hill Carnival has also become an attractive event for sponsorship for firms wishing to introduce their products and services to the UK and European markets. There have been, and continue to be, divergent views within the Notting Hill Carnival community about commercialisation of the event and how it should be negotiated. On one hand, there are fears about commercial interests overshadowing the cultural and artistic aspects of the event and threatening its authenticity. On the other hand, there is the feeling that successful commercial exploitation through activities such as merchandising, sponsorship and the selling of broadcast rights can potentially empower the cultural organisations and other participating community groups, thereby enhancing authenticity.

The LNHCL and its predecessors were at the same time responsible for growing the worldwide market for Trinidad-style carnival products and services in their role as an unpaid advisor to carnival organising committees throughout the UK and Europe. This dual role of competitor and cultural ambassador for the Trinidad Carnival played by the Notting Hill Carnival's central organising committees supports Green and Scher's (2007, p. 22) assertion that Trinidad-style carnivals overseas have "aroused both hope and resentment in Trinidad among Carnival administrators, artists, and the population as a whole."

The interviews also provide some explanation as to why "foreigners so strongly support" what is for most Trinidadians "just a shadow of the real Carnival" (Green & Scher, 2007, p. 22). The Notting Hill Carnival's business model set it apart from other carnivals in the UK and throughout Europe. Festival organisers came to the NHCL, and later the NHCT, year after year to find out about what has now become a textbook example of how cultural events are adapted and can effectively be harnessed to serve a variety of economic and social imperatives. The Rotterdam Zommer Carnival and the Berlin Carnival of Cultures both cite the Notting Hill Carnival as a source of inspiration because the event has become a template as to how a festival can be used as a means of integrating immigrant

populations into their new host communities (Knecht & Niedermüller, 2002). These aspects provide the Notting Hill Carnival with a compelling unique selling proposition which the Trinidad Carnival as a celebration of national culture cannot provide.

It would thus seem there is some justification for the feelings of jealousy felt by some Trinidadians towards the Notting Hill Carnival, as in some markets the product is more suited to the needs of both festival organisers and sponsors because of its distinctive characteristics. Arguably, this view is somewhat short-sighted, given the central organising bodies' role in supporting Trinidad-style carnivals throughout UK and Europe, which in turn has created new markets which benefit not just cultural organisations participating in the carnivals in the UK and Europe but also those from Trinidad and other carnivals within the Trinidad-style carnival circuit. Moreover, the unique selling point developed by the Notting Hill Carnival, highlights the possibility for the Trinidad Carnival and other Trinidad-style carnivals to develop similar positioning strategies, negating the need to resort to price competition and increasing the price premiums that can be charged for their products, services and experiences.

Chapter 6 - From English Fayre to Trinidad-style Carnival: Steel Bands and the Development of Notting Hill Carnival and the Internationalisation of Steel Pan Music

6.1 Overview

In 2014, the Notting Hill Carnival celebrates its 50th year. This is so because the Notting Hill Carnival community has chosen 1964 as the year of the festival's origin. This was the year when Jim O'Brien, partner of Rhuane Laslett, asked former TAPSO member Sterling Betancourt and his colleague Russell Henderson, who had by this time formed the UK's first steel band, to play at the opening of the Notting Hill Fayre, a children's event in Notting Hill. In 1965, the Notting Hill Fayre became the Notting Hill Carnival and steel band music became the main source of music at the event, up until 1975 when static sound systems were introduced and subsequently became the dominant source of music for the Carnival. This nested case study unit documents the role of steel bands in the Notting Hill Carnival, highlighting their prominence in the establishment of the festival in its early years. It also explores the changing role of steel bands in both the Notting Hill Carnival and in British society as a whole. Moreover, the individual activities of steel bands highlight their importance in the internationalisation of steel pan music.

This is the first of the three nested units in this case study of Notting Hill Carnival. In chapter 5 of the thesis, it has been noted that the central organising bodies have been far less active internationally than the cultural organisations participating in the festival. In chapter 5, interviewee 18 noted that much of the internationalisation of the Notting Hill Carnival has occurred at "band level". Thus, this chapter, along with chapter 7, highlight the role that Notting Hill Carnival bands have played in creating export markets for the art forms of the Trinidad Carnival and also supporting the spread of the Trinidad-style carnivals globally.

Like chapter 5, the nested case study units are divided into two key parts – findings and analysis (for this chapter, sections 6.3-6.7 and 6.8-6.9 respectively). However, within the business operations sections, special emphasis is given to the imports and exports involved in the sourcing of inputs and the production of outputs. Additionally, a full listing of countries accompanies the description of the international market activity.

6.2 The Development of Steel Pan Music in the United Kingdom

6.2.1 Steel Bands Transform an English fete into a Trinidad-style Carnival (1964-1974)

There is no shortage of historical accounts which detail the origins of the Notting Hill Carnival. Typically, they explain how, in 1964, Rhuanne Laslett, a British social worker invited the Russ Henderson Steel Band to play at the Notting Hill Fayre and the reaction of the Caribbean immigrants to the performance, who followed the band in a jumping, dancing procession (see for example, Holder cited in Bowdin et al., 2006). Missing from many of these accounts are the initial negative reactions of some of the other Notting Hill residents who were most likely unfamiliar with steel bands. In 1964, the Russ Henderson Steel Band was said to have been the only steel band in the UK (Phipps, 2011). In fact, as interviewee 10 explained, on seeing the steel band, some of the people looking on mistakenly believed that the players and Caribbean people dancing along with them were involved in a protest. A few even began taunting the players, shouting abuse at them. Interviewee 10 related:

“... while they were playing people were saying what are you protesting about. Go back from where you come from, that sort of thing and this is what they were faced with.”

However, the steel band players would persevere making an annual appearance at the Carnival, which throughout the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, was still very much an English fete rather than a Trinidad-style carnival. The festival founder's initial intention was to throw an English-style fete which would provide Notting Hill's immigrant ethnic groups (their children, especially) with an opportunity to become more familiar with each other's customs (Younge, 2002).

The Russ Henderson Steel Band would contribute one crucial ingredient that would shape the festival into a Trinidad-style Carnival – a procession route. Interviewee 10 explained that, year by year, the players in the steel band began gradually extending their march through the streets of Notting Hill until they achieved a semblance of a route. The Russ Henderson Steel Band would have played traditional steel pans which are strapped around the players' necks making this movement possible. This initial route that was established is what the modern-day Notting Hill Carnival parade route would be built on.

Another Trinidadian tradition that was introduced by steel bands was that of playing mas' or masquerade. By the late 1960s and early 1970s, more steel bands began appearing at the Notting Hill Carnival. These steel bands would follow the route laid down by the Russ Henderson Steel Band, along with their own mas' bands. Interviewee 12 was a mas' player in one of these early mas' bands. He explained:

“... it was about '71, '72 and the [steel] band started coming out with mas' and at that time there wasn't many mas' bands in that Ladbroke Grove. So we were one of the first to come out ...”

During this early period, there was also progress made towards the integration of the steel pan into wider British society. British pop group the Hollies featured the music of the steel pan in their 1967

hit Carrie Ann (Hayward, 2010) and in 1969, Islington Green School started the first school steel band under the guidance and teaching of Gerald Forsythe, who would later go on to be appointed Steel Band Organiser for schools in 1978 (Joseph, 2010)

6.2.2 Jamaican Sound Systems versus the Steel Bands (1975-1980)

In 1975, Jamaican sound systems made their first appearance at the Notting Hill Carnival at the invitation of the new Carnival Development Committee (CDC) head, Trinidadian Leslie Palmer, in his bid to broaden the Notting Hill Carnival's appeal. For steel bands, this meant that their place as the primary providers of music to the Carnival was now being challenged. Up until the late 1970s, they would remain the key providers of music for mas' bands in the costume parades as the technology had yet to be developed to allow for sound systems to become mobile (Cohen, 1980). This situation led to a rivalry being developed between the steel bands and the sound systems that were not only playing music from two different cultural traditions (one Jamaican and one Trinidadian) but were playing music in different mediums. The sound systems were playing recorded electronic music and the steel bands were playing live acoustic music.

Many felt the former comprised the authenticity of the event as the latter played authentic carnival music. This contention can be linked to traditional notions of the authentic, which view the modern and deviations from traditions as inauthentic (MacCannell, 1976 and Wang, 2000). However, it is possible to compare the addition of the sound systems to the Notting Hill Carnival to the introduction of the steel pan era to the Trinidad Carnival. In Trinidad, prior to the mid-1940s, the chantwell (lead singer of a masquerade band) accompanied by a live chorus was the source of music for carnival parades. The invention of the steel pan represented a significant innovation as it introduced a musical and technological marvel to the Trinidad Carnival which would displace vocalists as providers of music for masquerade bands, completely transforming the event. Steel bands are now

seen as integral to authentic Trinidad-style carnival celebrations. After forty years of participating in the Notting Hill Carnival the static sound systems can certainly lay claim to an emergent authenticity (Cohen, 1988). However, their role within the event is still an on-going negotiation with the other participating cultural organisations.

With the introduction of sound systems, there was also the problem of large static crowds of people gathering along the parade route making it difficult for mas' bands and accompanying steel bands to manoeuvre. Moreover, some sound systems would taunt the steel bands by purposely trying to drown out their sound as they passed. Some steel bands also had gangs of boys who would "break away and smash up the systems that got too loud" in retaliation (Francis, cited by Armstrong, 2002, p. 26). By 1978 and 1979, there were first appearances of mobile sound systems, which marked the beginning of the gradual decline of steel bands participating the costumed parades.

However, even as the steel bands lost their centrality in the costumed parades in the Notting Hill Carnival, steel pan music in the UK began to develop a stronger identity as a genre separate and apart from its role as provider of music for mas' bands and as a music source for the Carnival. In 1976, the UK's first steel band association was formed – the Steel Band Association of Great Britain (SAGB) and two years later, in 1978, the first UK Panorama was held. The initial work by Gerald Forsythe in 1969 to get steel bands into schools would also progress quickly during this period. The Pan Teachers Association formed by him and his colleague, Frank Rollock, was officially recognised by the Greater London Council (GLC) in 1975. Forsythe would also be appointed Steel Band Organiser for Schools in 1978 and his office housed within the GLC's headquarters (Joseph, 2010). Interviewees 9, 22 and 23 became involved in leading their steel bands primarily from being exposed to steel pan within the London state school system.

During this period a very important international link for UK steel bands in Britain was forged. In 1976, Sterling Betancourt and his colleagues, Errol Philip and Nelson Huggins, went to Zurich, Switzerland, on a 3-month contract to share the steel pan with that city. The people of Zurich were so captivated by the steel pan that this initial contract led to a three-year engagement. During this time, Betancourt made instruments for a music store and played at many events throughout Switzerland, paving the way for the many British steel bands which would later tour that country (Joseph, 2011). One such band was a steel band ensemble that interviewee 7 played with. His band first visited Switzerland in 1987 and he admitted that, though the band wasn't that great, he had expected the Swiss to blown away by the novelty. He related:

“I was in Switzerland with a group of steel pan players as a young man and we thought they were going to love our music because we could play steel pan and were Bblack and we were young ...”

He then recalled his surprise when Sterling Betancourt approached them after the performance to explain the less than enthusiastic reception of the audience. He explained that Betancourt let him know that he had been in Switzerland for many years and many Swiss were very knowledgeable about the steel pan:

“And then Sterling this old boy came up and said um, I know you all think that these people don't know about pan but I've been here [...] and some of these players are very, very good.”

Betancourt is also credited with taking steel pan to a number of other European destinations including France, Germany, Italy and Spain and other international destinations such as Abu Dhabi, Bahrain, Dubai, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Qatar (Alleyne, 2009).

6.2.3 Organisation and Institutionalisation (1981-1990)

During this period, two more steel band associations were established. A London steel band association was formed in 1982 (Anon., 1987a) called the London Brotherhood of Steel (LBS) and the Pan Players Association (PPA) (La Rose, 2004). The relationship between British steel bands and the GLC also developed further. In 1981, the GLC hosted a steel band music festival in collaboration with LBS (Joseph, 2010), which would continue until the end of the decade. Moreover, when the Ethnic Arts Working Group was established by the Arts Council in 1982, among the first projects discussed and funded was the steel band tuning project proposed by the SAGB. It was proposed by steel band leader Terrence Noel, and detailed a plan for training classes to be delivered in steel pan tuning so the reliability of the supply of pans in the UK could be improved (Pulford, 1982). It is perhaps no coincidence that this institutionalisation takes place at the same time as the central organising body begins to find acceptance from statutory bodies. Not only had the Notting Hill Carnival been reframed and accepted as a Black British art form but steel pan music had also evolved from a Trinidadian/Caribbean tradition to being part of Britain's emerging ethnic arts. The term "ethnic arts" had been brought to the forefront just a few years earlier in the ground breaking 1976 report *The Art Britain Ignores*, the first to highlight the cultural work in ethnic minority communities (see Khan, 1976).

The minutes and files of the Ethnic Arts Working Group during the 1980s also suggest that steel band leaders were also developing strong linkages with the Arts Council. During this period, there were concerns raised by the working group about mas' bands providing value for money with the grants they received (Stote et al., 1983) but similar concerns for steel bands which also received funding from the body (albeit to a much lesser extent) are notably absent. In fact, Pepe Francis, current head of BAS was one of the people contacted by the Arts Council when they were seeking sponsorship from Trinidadian business for the Notting Hill Carnival mas' bands (Francis, 1984). Pepe

Francis and Terrance Noel during the period were also part of the Art Council's visits made to mas' camps to assess the artistic merits of the costumes produced.

6.2.4 Steel Pan Poised to Become a Truly British Institution (1990-1999)

During this period, the efforts of steel band leaders to integrate steel pan music in to wider UK society was very apparent. By 1990, there were steel bands in over 150 UK schools due in large part to the efforts of Gerald Forsythe in his role as Steel Band Organiser for schools for the GLC (Joseph, 2010). In 1995, the LBS and the PPA would merge to form the BAS. This association was, and continues to be, funded by the Arts Council England. In the following year, Sterling Betancourt, renowned British steel pan pioneer, became a Fellow of the University of East London and also the Royal Society of Arts (Phipps, 2013). The Panpodium magazine was also launched in 1999 to highlight the hard work performed by steel bands and pan musicians throughout the UK and internationally. It is published bi-annually and is circulated worldwide (Joseph, 2010). During this period, steel bands, along with other participants, would also receive fees to appear at the Notting Hill Carnival, thanks in part to the sponsorship deals negotiated by the Notting Hill Carnival Limited.

6.2.5 Steel Pan “in yuh face” (2000-2010)

During this period, BAS, using its political links and its newly launched publicity vehicles, dedicated itself to, in the words of interviewee 10, putting steel bands “in yuh face”. In 2000, BAS launched “Pan in de Park” in collaboration with the Royal Parks and the National Children's Trust (NCT). It was developed as a warm-up event to the Notting Hill Carnival's Panorama (Anon., 2001c). In 2001, steel bands celebrated their 50th year in the UK and launched a number of initiatives to commemorate this important milestone. Perhaps the most critical of these was the launch of

panpodium.com in 2001, which among other things provided every steel band member with their own website/link to its website bringing individual steel bands to a wider audience (Joseph, 2010). In this year, BAS also collaborated with the Greater London Authority (GLA), successor to long-time steel band supporter the GLC, to launch Pan in Trafalgar Square which was developed as part of a broader strategy to highlight London's cultural diversity (Anon., 2001d). Another initiative introduced to develop steel bands was Pan Explosion. Its aim was to encourage young pannists to "explore and develop their composing, arranging and performing talents" (Anon., 2001b, p. 12). Additionally, BAS launched its first Annual Dinner Awards Presentation; among the recipients of awards was Sterling Betancourt, who received a lifetime achievement award (Anon., 2002), the following year he was also appointed Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire in the New Year Honours 2002 for services to the steel band movement (Joseph, 2001).

These new initiatives were in large part made possible from funding that BAS received from the Arts Council England as a regularly funded organisation. In 2004, BAS introduced J'ouvert celebrations to the Notting Hill Carnival. It was promoted as "an all steel band event" as steel bands Stardust, London All Stars and Ebony were the providers of music for the event (Anon., 2009). In 2007, BAS, in collaboration with the GLA, hosted the Panorama in Hyde Park, which represented the biggest change to the event since it was launched in 1978. This move was undertaken to enable BAS "to maximize opportunities for the benefits of bands and for pan generally" (Francis, 2007, p. 3). It also meant that steel bands would once again receive appearance fees at Panorama. Appearance fees were not paid since Claire Holder's departure in 2002. However, this was not a move that was welcomed by all steel bands. Interviewee 7 explained that this was a move that led to a change of leadership in his band, because members were against his band leader's decision to participate in the Hyde Park Panorama. He recounted:

“They wanted to force carnival into Hyde Park. I warned him that the members didn’t like it. I warned him not to play in Hyde Park. I warned him that if he took part that most of the band would think that he’s going against the wishes of the band ...”

In this period, international organisations also assisted in promoting British steel bands. Steel Band European staged the first ever European Steel Band Festival in which British steel bands were very prominent. British steel band Ebony won the ‘European Steelpan Champions 2000’. In 2001, Ebony also received an invitation from the Tourism and Industrial Development Company of Trinidad and Tobago to play in Dusseldorf, Germany (Anon., 2001a). Individual British steel bands were also part of the 2006 FIFA World Cup in Germany. Interviewee 7’s and 12’s steel bands both appeared at the finals of that World Cup, alongside German and Trinidadian steel bands.

The new London Notting Hill Carnival Limited, formed in 2003 after Claire Holder’s controversial departure, was not as capable of securing sponsorship, as the credibility of the organisation had been negatively affected. The historic political links that steel bands formed with the GLC and its successor the GLA served them well, allowing them to thrive during a difficult period for the Notting Hill Carnival. However, it is also apparent that like the LNHCL, the BAS became more politically embedded and focused on London during this period, demonstrating a strong acceptance for the festival’s new framing as a London Notting Hill Carnival.

6.2.6 Pan in Danger (2010-2013)

Merchant’s “Pan in Danger” (Williams, 1985) is perhaps an apt way of describing this period in the UK steel bands’ history. The lyrics explain that, despite its acclaim globally, steel bands still lacked financial support at home. In 2010, the budget for the Panorama provided by the GLA was cut from

£150,000 to £30,000 which resulted in the Panorama being moved from Hyde Park back to Horniman's Pleasance Park Road (Anon., 2010). This also meant that, unlike previous years, the steel bands playing in the competition were not paid (Sullivan, 2010). Sullivan (2010) connects this situation to a broader trend of a global demise of Panoramas, highlighting that in Grenada and St. Lucia there were no steel band Panoramas in 2010 due to a lack of funding, whilst in Miami the Panorama had been eliminated from the carnival diary. In the spring 2011 issue of Panpodium, the BAS board of directors highlight 2010 as a challenging year, noting that in the previous three months, they had learnt that two of their member bands had folded. They also mentioned that after losing 15% of its funding in the previous three years, BAS was set to lose another 14% in the next two years (The Board of the British Association of Steel Bands, 2011). This situation mirrors the situation of many of the other organisations within the Carnival who were receiving less funding from both private and public sources after the 2008/9 financial crisis. Moreover, the board highlighted a need for innovation in funding steel band activities. Interviewee 12, who was interviewed in 2012, highlighted a new source of funding being explored by BAS for the hosting of Panorama in 2013. A partnership between BAS and a Trinidadian state company was being developed, along with the possibility of the Panorama once more being staged in a high profile park. He explained:

“We have just formed a relationship with [a Trinidadian state company] who we are now working with and hopefully they will now sponsor Panorama this year. But we might move it out of Ladbroke Grove, it might be happening ... [at a London park]”

Interviewees from individual steel bands also commented that this period had been particularly financially challenging. Interviewee 9 reported:

“Last year [2011] was hard because I spend my money. I spend my money and I get the band there [to the Panorama].”

Interviewee 11 also said:

“Finance is getting harder because no-one’s got any money so getting sponsorship is harder [...] I haven’t done any [paid] gigs this year [2012] and I think other people may have done one or two.”

6.3 The Business Operations of Steel bands

6.3.1 Inputs (Funding, Instruments and Related Services)

Six of the eight steel bands represented by the interviewees are registered charities. BAS and one of the steel bands are limited companies. One steel band is a youth group based at a primary school. All interviewees, however, described their organisations as not-for-profit. The interviews revealed that steel bands provide an extensive range of products, services and experiences to governments, corporate clients, charities and also individuals. To fund their activities, there is also a similar range of funding sources which included state funding (through ACE and local councils), European grant schemes, charitable organisations, sponsorship (from both local and foreign government organisations and private companies), tuition fees, performance fees, busking and also small financial contributions from the BAS. The BAS also raised funds in a similar manner as some of its members, in particular through grants it received from state organisations and sponsorship. Thus, steel bands are both in competition with each other and BAS when applying for certain types of funding so BAS finds itself in the peculiar position of supporting its member steel bands and also competing with them for funds. As interviewee 10 explained:

“... every year we do try to actively seek funding but as I said the problem is you’ve got all these people [steel bands] seeking funding as well and the funding that these people [sponsors] are coming in with is quite small compared to ... you know, to hold Panorama...”

Interviewees revealed that steel pans, and steel pan tuning and arrangements, were very much made to order, highly specialised products. For six of the eight steel bands interviewed, Trinidad was an important source of imports. The extent of the importance varied from steel band to steel band. For steel band heads that were Trinidadian or of Trinidadian parentage, there tended to be a higher variety of inputs from Trinidad. In the two cases where steel bands did not use any imports from Trinidad, the steel band head was British (interviewee 16) or of another Caribbean nationality (interviewee 7). Relationships and costs (in the case of steel pans) were the key reasons given for using Trinidadian suppliers. Importing tuners and arrangers was more expensive than using locally based ones. Interviewee 9 also used his relationships to recommend Trinidad suppliers to fellow UK-based steel bands. See Table 6.2 for the products and services imported by steel band leaders interviewed. In cases where steel bands did not have strong ties to Trinidad or did not visit very often, their purchases from Trinidad have been less frequent and explained mainly by chance.

Trinidad was not the only international destination from which steel band heads sourced imports. Interviewee 11 said that her band used arrangers (individuals who make musical arrangements for steel bands to play at Panorama and other performances) living in New York and Denmark - in both cases the individuals were of Trinidadian descent. Personal relationships were the reason given for working with these individuals. All steel bands also had local suppliers which they used. See Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Product and Service Imports by Steel Bands

Interviewee Details			Products	Services	
Interviewee	Head's Nationality	Organisation Type	Instruments	Arrangements	Tuning
9	Trinidadian	Non-profit	✓		✓
11	British of Trinidadian Parent	Non-profit	✓	✓	✓
12	Trinidadian	Non-profit	✓		✓
13	Trinidadian	Non-profit	✓		
22	British	Non-profit	✓		
23	Trinidadian	Non-profit	✓		

Figure 6.1

Steel Bands Import Markets



KEY

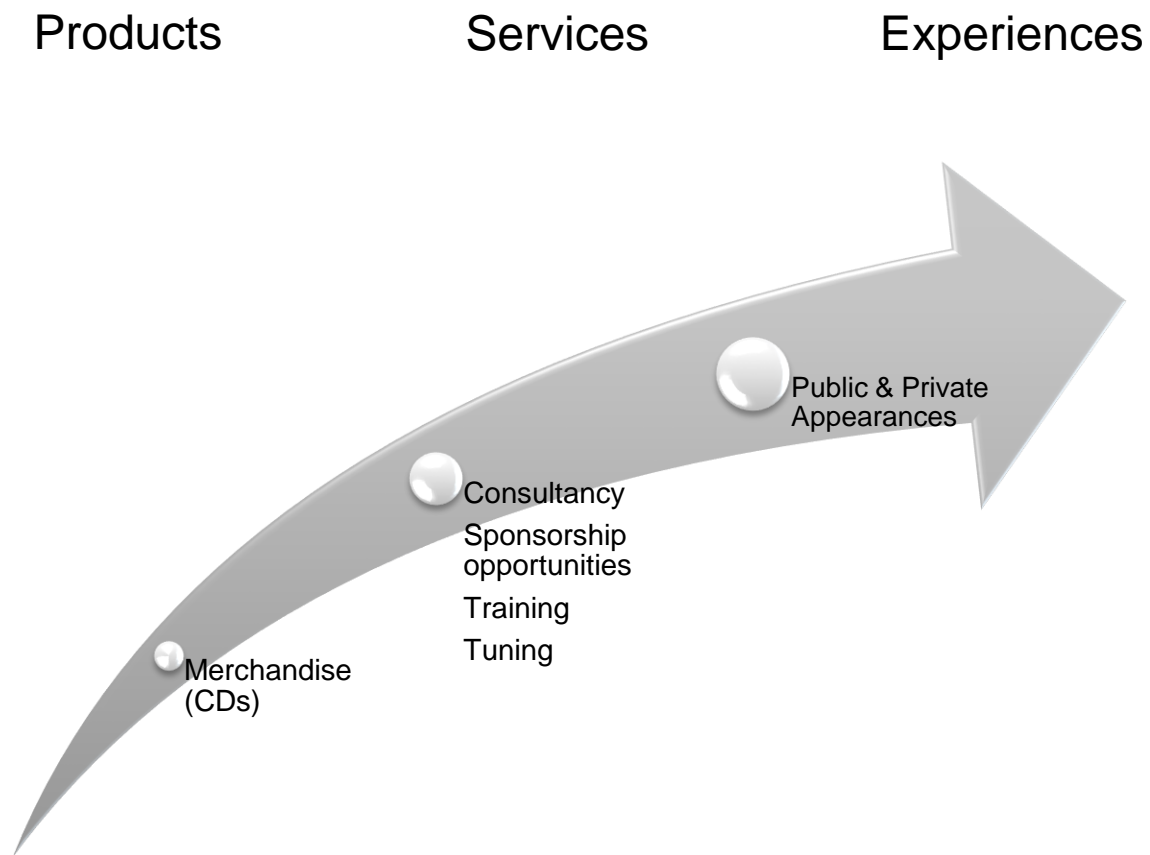
- UK Steel Bands
- Destination hosts US Trinidad-style Carnivals
- Destination hosts other carnivals or festivals
- Import activity

6.3.2 Outputs (Products, Services Experiences)

Steel bands produce a wide variety of products, services and experiences both locally and internationally, which are both paid and unpaid. See Figure 6.2. In most cases, the variety of local offerings by the steel band was far greater than those offered internationally. Locally, the steel band's long history in the British education system seems to have led them to develop education offerings which are aimed specifically at school-aged children. All the steel band leaders and members interviewed included steel band classes for school-aged children as one of their key offerings. In some cases, these were offered free of charge. In others, a small fee was charged to students to cover the costs of running the classes. Interviewees 16 and 22's steel bands were based within primary schools and many of their students were also students of these primary schools. Interviewees 9 and 23's steel band heads both taught at primary schools so many of their bands' students came to their steel bands through contact with their heads as teachers within their schools.

Figure 6.2

Steel Bands Products, Services and Experiences



Seven of the eight interviewees from steel bands said that their band offered workshops off-site. Off-site workshops were typically done for a fee or in exchange for travel costs. Workshops differed from a steel band's regular classes in that they tended to be one-off engagements from a customer with specific requirements (for example, a local authority wanting to include steel band skills as part of their summer programmes or a steel band based overseas wanting training in a specific area). For ease of comparison, both classes and workshops have been described as training in the thesis. Although steel bands have been paid previously (when the Panorama was held in Hyde Park and when the NHCL paid every participant appearances fees) to appear at the Panorama, currently, and

for many years, steel bands have had to meet their own costs to appear at the event. Paid performances are thus a very important way of raising money to play at Notting Hill Carnival as well as covering the steel band's operating costs. This is another activity that was undertaken by all steel bands. In cases where the steel band comprised mainly of children, performance fees went directly to the steel band to fund activities throughout the year or to charity. For adult bands, band leaders would try to allow members to earn money from performances, whilst a percentage went to the steel band. Performances ranged from appearing at major music festivals to performing for corporate clients such as retail stores and hotels, to playing for individuals for weddings and funerals. For ease of analysis, these have been classified as either public or private performances. See Figure 6.2

Sponsorship opportunities were also mentioned by six out of the eight steel band leaders/members interviewed and the BAS representative as a key source of revenue. However, only interviewee 13 said his steel band currently had a long-term sponsorship contract. Other steel bands had sponsorship contracts for a few continuous years in the past or on a one-off basis. Interviewee 13 was also the only interviewee that said his band offered consultancy services for individuals wishing to start up a new steel band. His band specifies and details the requirements for a steel band to such individuals for a fee. Another service, offered by just one steel band leader interviewed was tuning (this is the process which allows the steel pans to play various notes and it is also done to ensure pans retain their sound quality). All steel band leaders indicated that tuning was an important service that must be paid for. Interviewee 9 said that his steel band had an exchange with a Trinidadian steel band which made the exporting of a tuner possible:

“... it is very expensive for Panorama. Last year was good because we had an exchange with the tuner. He came from Trinidad [...] it was an exchange, so next year we are gonna have people go down from here.”

A number of interviewees reported that their steel bands also sold compact discs (CDs) featuring their performances. In all cases, this was not a money-making opportunity for the bands. It was done primarily for promotional reasons. Interviewee 12 explained:

“We sell them [CDs] mainly when we go on tour. Steel band records, there is so much on the market. You can do it and it just sits there.”

Although typically a smaller range of offerings were undertaken overseas, all but one interviewee indicated that their steel band participated in some form of international business activity. Typically for interviewees, public and private appearances makes up the majority of their international activities; training and sponsorship are less frequent activities. Interviewee 11 explained that the BAS directors felt strongly that its organisation had an important role to play in ensuring the continuing internationalisation of steel pan music. To this end, the BAS worked closely with organisations such as the British Council and the Trinidad and Tobago High Commission in London and also pan associations in Trinidad and Tobago, the United States of America and Switzerland to promote steel pan music in countries throughout the world. This sometimes led to BAS offering commissions to member steel bands to play overseas. Individual steel bands also worked with High Commissions of different countries to secure bookings overseas but for individual steel bands, bookings were primarily secured through personal relationships and contacts. The steel bands' websites were also an important way of getting bookings. Interviewee 9, in particular, mentioned the importance of personal contacts and networking in securing bookings. He explained:

“We have links [...] everyone know everyone. We have friends from Switzerland, from Holland, from Japan ...”

“Is worth your while [to tour] rather than staying in England, you meet other bands you network. They want you to come and do a workshop with them. So it goes tit for tat.”

See Table 6.3 for the range of products, services and experiences exported by steel bands. As was the case with imports, steel bands with leaders who were Trinidadian or British with Trinidadian parents did the greatest range of exports. Additionally, the only steel band not to engage in export activities had a head that was of British nationality.

Table 6.2

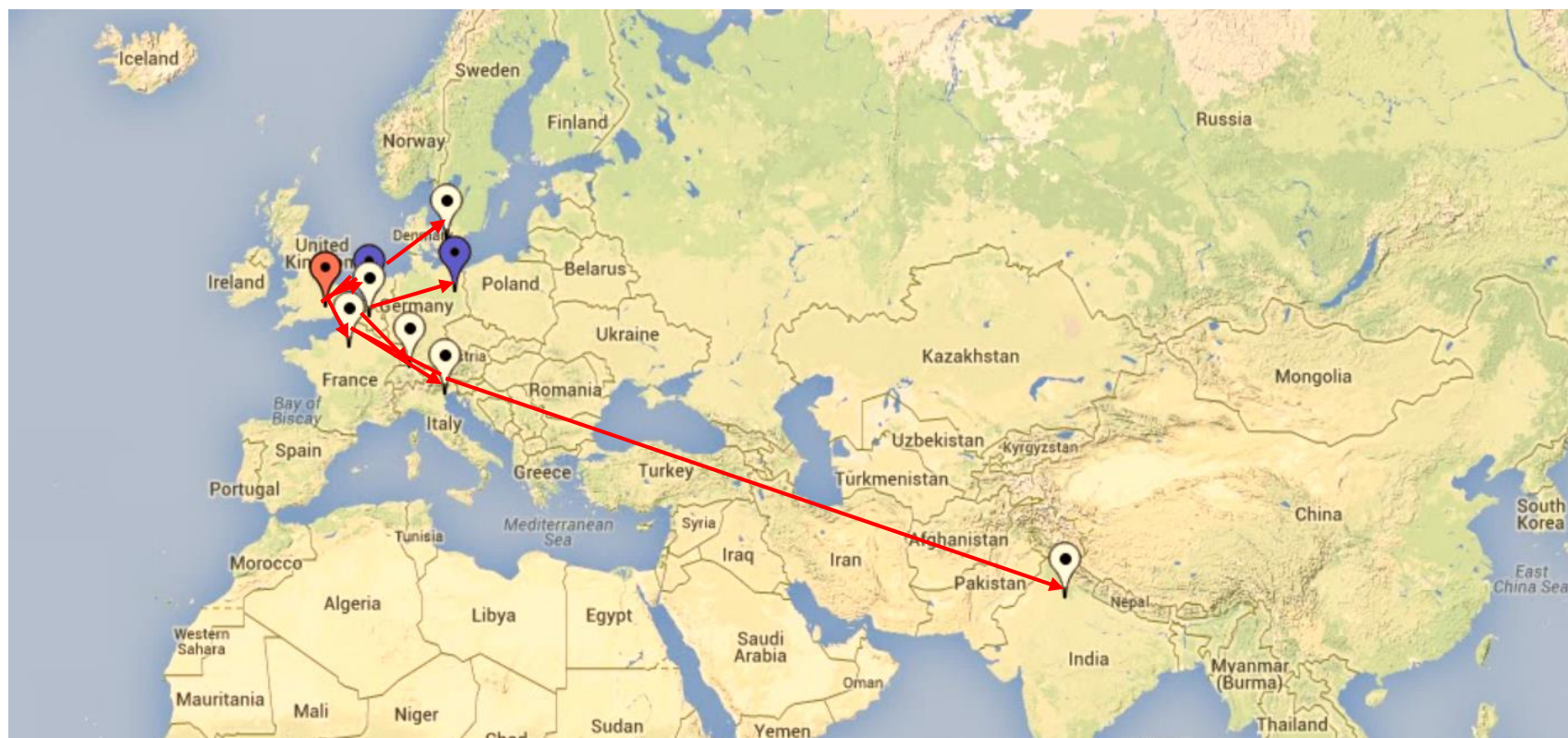
Steel Bands Products, Services and Experiences Exported

Interviewee Details			Products	Services			Experiences	
Interviewees	Head's Nationality	Organisation Type	Merchandise*	Tuning	Sponsorship Opportunities	Training*	Public Performances	Private Performances
7	Other Caribbean	Non-profit					✓	✓
9	Trinidadian	Non-profit		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
11	British of Trinidadian parent	Non-profit	✓			✓	✓	✓
12	Trinidadian	Non-profit	✓		✓		✓	✓
13	Trinidadian	Non-profit	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
16	British	Non-profit	✓			✓	✓	✓
23	Trinidadian	Non-profit						✓

* For ease of comparison across cases, CDs have been classified as merchandise and steel band workshops have been classified as training.

Figure 6.3

Key Destinations for Steel Band Exports



KEY



Steel Bands



Other carnival or festival destination



European Trinidad-style carnival destination



Travel to destination

By far the most popular export destinations were countries in Western Europe. Figure 6.3 depicts the destinations that were mentioned by at least three of the seven interviewees. The only country outside of Western Europe mentioned by at least 3 interviewees was India. Section 6.7 provides a full listing of the international destinations that were mentioned by interviewees which reveals that there is great variation in touring patterns of individual steel bands as the vast majority of destinations were mentioned by just one interviewee.

6.4 Steel Bands and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit

Just three steel bands were visitors to the Trinidad Panorama. These visits were for the most part not undertaken for financial motives. Only interviewee 9 mentioned members of his band going to the Trinidad Panorama for some tangible benefit. He would be sending a tuner and another member there as payment for the Trinidadian tuner his band used for the Panorama at the Notting Hill Carnival in the previous year. For interviewee 11's steel band, visits to the Trinidad Panorama were described almost as a form of spiritual renewal for members. She explained:

“... it's about experiencing it, I mean when they come back [...] people who've done it have come back energised because when you're here and you see [name of interviewee's 11 band] and you see 70 people, when they go out there and they see 120, it's a good experience for them and they have a good time and I think for a lot of people, especially young people from here, getting to go out there and see is like exciting for them [...] Being in a place where they're not in the minority and really feeling like they're a part of something and being in a steel band.”

Interviewee 13 had a close relationship with a Trinidadian steel band so his band's visits were done to maintain that relationship. Interviewees 12 and 22 frequently visited the Trinidad Panorama as individuals, separate and apart from their steel bands. Interviewee 12 was Trinidadian and made a point of visiting Trinidad frequently to maintain his relationships with Trinidadian Panorama organisers. In addition to attending the Trinidad Panorama, he also attended steel pan conferences hosted by Pantrinbago. Interviewee 22 was British and visited to play steel pan and enjoy the Panorama. He also liked learning about Trinidad Carnival and Trinidadian culture in general.

Interviewees 7, 9, 11 and 12's steel bands also went to Rotterdam Carnival which, up until recently, steel bands were paid to appear at. This event does not have a Panorama but a "Battle of the Drums" which is a competition featuring a wide range of percussion instruments. Only interviewee 9 mentioned his band would be appearing at another Trinidad-style carnival. His steel band had just been paid to appear at the Montreal Carnival. Interviewee 12 said that he personally visited the New York Panorama frequently and, as was the case with his visits to the Trinidad Panorama, he went there primarily to maintain relationships with members of the organising committee for that carnival. See Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4

Steel Bands and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit



KEY



UK Steel bands



Canadian Trinidad-style carnival destination

Travel to do appearances



European Trinidad-style carnival destination



Trinidad Carnival

6.5 Steel Bands and Other Festivals

Steel bands also appear at a number of other festivals outside of the Trinidad-style carnival circuit. Interviewee 7 appeared regularly at the Dortmund Carnival and interviewee 11 mentioned that the BAS had recently been commissioned to take a steel band to the Zurich Carnival. These carnivals are much older celebrations than the Trinidad Carnival. Both the Dortmund Carnival and the Zurich Carnival can be traced back to the Middle Ages (see Kölner Karneval, 2012 and Staff, 2012).

Interviewee 11's steel band favoured appearing at music festivals, rather than appearing at carnivals or steel band festivals. Her band included among its appearances the Bilbao Street Arts Festival in Spain, the Pohoda Festival in Slovakia and the Africa Festival hosted in Germany. Interviewee 9's steel band also did appearances at mainstream music festivals. His ambition was for his band to be able to accompany a popular music act, who was as well-known as Beyonce. His band accompanied a pop act on one of the main stages at the Glastonbury Music Festival and it was also the first steel band to appear at the Ethnic Meeting of Music and Arts (EMMAS) Festival in Italy. The band's first international outing was at the Festival Afrique-Carib, a festival of African and Caribbean music in the Netherlands. Interviewee 12's band, which he described as one of the most travelled steel bands, also appeared at the Midem Music Festival in Cannes and also street festivals in Belgium.

Steel band festivals were also mentioned by interviewees as international destinations to which their bands would travel. Interviewees 11 and 12 have both competed at the biennial European Steel Band Festival which was established in 2000. Interviewee 22 has appeared at the Esbjerg Steel Festival in Denmark which is staged as part of the Esbjerg Festival and is organised in conjunction with the day/youth clubs in Esbjerg and was established in 2009. Interviewee 11 and 12's steel

bands had taken part in the World Steel Band Music Festival established in 2000. Interviewee 12 said he would not be appearing there again for some time because his steel band had gone into debt from their last appearance because, unlike the European Festivals his band has appeared at, no money is offered by the organisers to cover expenses.

Interviewee 13, in contrast to other interviewees, favoured appearing at other types of Arts Festivals, such as the April Spring Friendship Arts Festival in North Korea, the Büyükçekmece Festival, an international dance festival in Turkey and the Venice Biennale festival. See Figures 6.5-6.6. When Figures 6.5-6.6 are compared to 6.4, it is clear that steel pan music has become much more than music for Trinidad-style carnivals. It is an art form in its own right with an international market demand that is independent of the Trinidad-style carnival circuit. UK steel bands are in demand as entertainment for European carnivals, as part of African and Caribbean music festivals and also as performers at music festivals featuring a mix of musical genres. The lack of financial incentives has been cited by interviewees as a key reason for appearing at other music festivals rather than Trinidad-style carnivals, where steel pan players are often playing for nothing more than “bragging rights” (Sullivan, 2010). Also clear from Figures 6.5-6.6 is that, overall, steel bands tend to appear at festivals which are closer geographically to the UK rather than those which are further away. Additionally for most interviewees appearances in countries outside of Western Europe have come about only recently (within the last five years).

Figure 6.5

Steel Bands and Other Festivals (excluding April Spring Friendship Arts Festival)



KEY

UK Steel bands Other Carnivals or Festivals

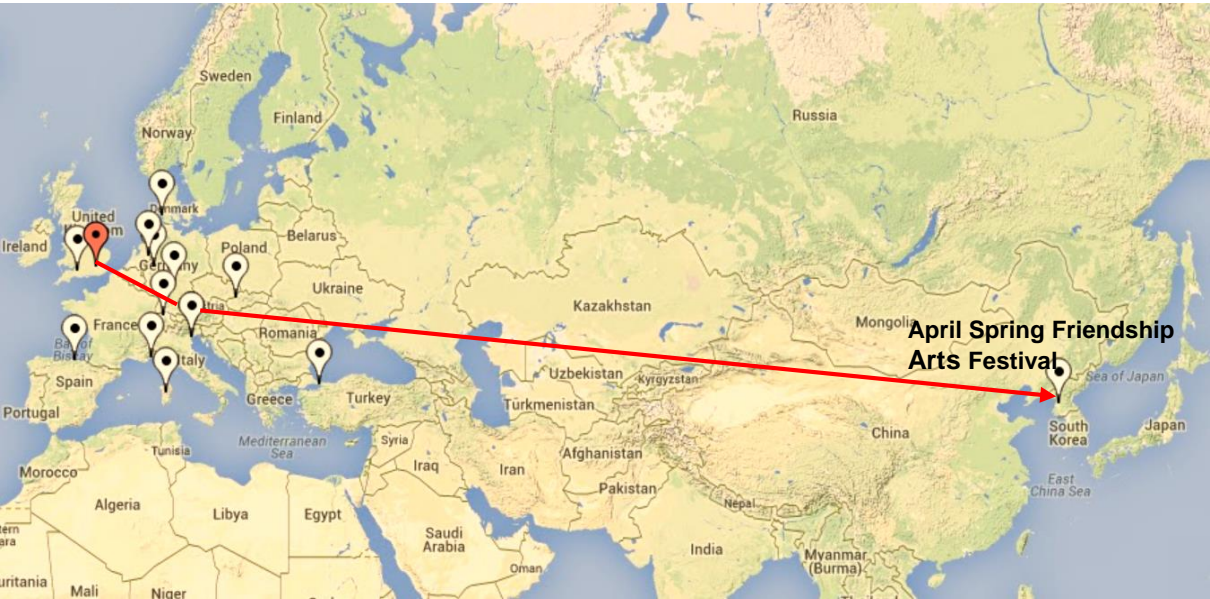
Travel to do appearances

NUMBER KEY

1 UK Steel Bands, **2** Africa Festival, **3** Bilbao Arts Street Festival, **4** Büyükçekmece Festival, **5** Dortmund Carnival, **6** Esbjerg Steel Festival, **7** Ethnic Meeting of Music and Arts, **8** Festival Afrique-Carib, **9** Festival Afrique-Carib, **10** Glastonbury Festival, **11** Midem Music Festival, **12** Pahoda Festival, **13** Venice Biennale Festival, **14** Zurich Carnival

Figure 6.6

Steel Bands and Other Festivals (showing April Spring Friendship Arts Festival)



KEY



UK steel bands



Other festivals



Travel to do appearances

6.6 International Markets

With the exception of one interviewee, touring was considered an important activity for steel bands, albeit for a variety of reasons. For interviewee 9, in particular, touring was cited as an important way to “network” which was financially worthwhile. For interviewees 16 and 24 whose steel bands focused on young people, touring was seen as a means of broadening cultural horizons and raising aspirations. For interviewee 10 (a BAS executive) and 13 (an independent steel band leader, who was very active in establishing steel band music in the UK), touring was seen as important because it spread steel pan music throughout the world. They were both Trinidadian and were keen on activities which brought their country’s national instrument to international audiences. Interviewee 7 travelled mainly to maintain social relationships with colleagues overseas. Interviewees 11 and 12 cited a range of reasons which included networking, financial gain, socialising and to spread the music of steel pan to other countries.

Countries in Western Europe were the most popular destinations. Eight out of the nine interviewees indicated that their organisation had travelled to at least one country in this region. Other European countries, the Caribbean and African countries were also mentioned by a number of interviewees as important. Five out of the eight interviewees who had travelled overseas to perform had gone to other countries outside of these areas. See Tables 6.4-6.7. Interviews suggest that the steel band touring pattern is to start in Western Europe and, over time, extend to other destinations. The exception to this pattern is interviewee 9 who went to a European destination first but within a few years went quickly beyond European destinations to countries such as South Africa and the United Arab Emirates. In addition to performing, steel bands also deliver workshops as part of a tour.

Table 6.3

Steel Band Touring Destinations in Western Europe

Interviewee Details									
Int.	Head's Nationality	Org. Type	BEL	FRA	GER	LUX	SPA	NET	SWZ
7	Other Caribbean	NP			✓	✓			✓
9	Trinidadian	NP			✓			✓	✓
10	*Trinidadian	NP			✓				✓
11	*British of Trinidadian Parent	NP	✓				✓	✓	✓
12	Trinidadian	NP	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
13	Trinidadian	NP	✓	✓					✓
16	British	NP		✓					
23	Trinidadian	NP							

Table 6.4

Steel Band Touring Destinations Other European Countries

Interviewee Details			ALB	AZB	BUL	CRO	DAG	DEN	GRE	ITA	MLT	POL	ROM	SLO	SWE
Int.	Head's Nationality	Org. Type													
7	Other Caribbean	NP													
9	Trinidadian	NP								✓					
10	*Trinidadian	NP													
11	*British of Trinidadian Parent	NP			✓					✓		✓	✓	✓	
12	Trinidadian	NP						✓	✓						✓
13	Trinidadian	NP	✓	✓		✓	✓			✓					
16	British	NP						✓							
23	Trinidadian	NP								✓					

Table 6.5

Steel Band Touring Destinations in Africa and the Caribbean

Interviewee Details			Africa								Caribbean			
Int.	Head's Nationality	Org. Type	MAL	MAU	MOR	NIG	SEY	SOA	TAN	ZAM	ANT	BAR	TRI	
9	Trinidadian	NP					✓	✓						
10	*Trinidadian	NP				✓								
11	*British of Trinidadian Parent	NP	✓	✓					✓		✓			
12	Trinidadian	NP				✓								
13	Trinidadian	NP			✓					✓			✓	
16	British	NP										✓		

Table 6.6

Steel Band Touring Destinations in the Rest of the World

Interviewee Details			Rest of the World														
Int.	Head's Nationality	Org. Type	BRA	CAN	IND	ISR	KAZ	LEB	NKO	QAT	RUS	SIN	SRI	THA	TUR	UAE	YEM
9	Trinidadian	NP		✓												✓	
10	*Trinidadian	NP			✓												
11	*British of Trinidadian Parent	NP				✓							✓	✓			
12	Trinidadian	NP			✓												
13	Trinidadian	NP	✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓

ABBREVIATIONS

Table Headings Int. = Interviewee Org. = Organisation Organisation Type NP= Non Profit Western European Countries BEL = Belgium FRA = France GER = Germany LUX = Luxembourg SPA = Spain NET = The Netherlands SWZ = Switzerland	Other European Countries ALB = Albania AZB= Azerbaijan BUL = Bulgaria CRO = Croatia DAG = Dagestan DEN = Denmark GRE = Greece ITA = Italy MLT = Malta POL = Poland ROM = Romania SLO = Slovakia SWE = Sweden	African Countries MAL= Malawi MAU = Mauritius MOR = Morocco NIG = Nigeria SEY = Seychelles SOA = South Africa TAN = Tanzania ZAM = Zambia Caribbean Countries ANT = Antigua BAR = Barbados TRI = Trinidad and Tobago	Rest of the World BRA = Brazil IND = India ISR = Israel KAZ = Kazakhstan LEB = Lebanon NKO = North Korea PAL = Palestine QAT = Qatar RUS = Russia SIN = Singapore SRI = Sri Lanka THA = Thailand TUR = Turkey UAE = United Arab Emirates YEM = Yemen
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6.7 Analysis

In chapter 5, the Notting Hill Carnival, which evolved into a Trinidad-style carnival and later a London carnival, was likened to a subsidiary which, in the process of embedding itself in its host market, utilised a network of actors which included political institutions, suppliers and customers. It highlighted the importance of political actors, in particular. By utilising international business network theory, combined with ANT analysis, chapter 5 demonstrated that one of the key outcomes of the embedding process was that the Notting Hill Carnival's central organising bodies have, over the years, exchanged increasing levels of public funding for increasing levels of control over the framing over the carnival.

This chapter, in contrast, focuses specifically on how steel bands, as local suppliers of music to the Notting Hill Carnival, have helped to establish and embed the festival in its host community. International business network research has shown that multinational firms, which form deep relationship with local suppliers (or that exhibit a high degree of business embeddedness), experience benefits from mutual cooperation in product and production process development (or technical embeddedness) because this cooperation indirectly improves its performance and competence development (Andersson, Forsgren, & Holm, 2002). This echoes other research on business networks which suggests that intense contacts related to exchange of goods and services impact on the identification of the needs and possibilities to develop new products and processes (Snehota & Hakansson, 1995).

Although this perhaps was not the intention the festival's founder, Rhuane Laslett, the steel band she invited to play at the Notting Hill Carnival became intensely involved with it. The steel band trio began

from the time of their involvement to develop Laslett's festival, transforming it into a product which resonates with the Caribbean and other Black immigrants in the Notting Hill community. They introduced a parade route and also encouraged other steel bands to become involved in the event, making the steel pan its dominant source of music until the arrival of sound systems in 1975 (more details of this can be found in chapter 8). Moreover, they also introduced the Trinidadian practice of playing mas'.

6.7.1 Steel Band Network Relationships

Initially, the involvement of the first steel band in the Notting Hill Fayre served as the first step that would transform it from a multi-cultural event into a Trinidad-style carnival. Later on, when this change was established and more steel bands become involved with the event, they began to exhibit the behaviours of local suppliers within a firm's actor-network by innovating the festival product and making it more responsive to the needs of specific customers or attendees. These attendees or "Caribbean carnival lovers" wanted the carnival to resemble the Trinidad carnival which they left behind when they immigrated to the UK. However, unlike with multi-national firms, no definitive claims can be made that the innovations brought to the festival by the steel bands were beneficial or resulted in improved performance or competence. For a festival, measures of success are far more complex than, for example, the manufacturing firms in Andersson, Forsgren & Holm's (2002) study. The changes that steel bands introduced, although winning the event new fans and adding to its programme, ultimately led to the festival's original organiser turning over leadership to the Caribbean community because the event became something that she never intended to be. It also led to the Carnival being subject to increasing interference from the police. These outcomes show that, to some festival stakeholders, the involvement of the steel bands could be seen as an improvement, whilst for others it was the source of unwanted consequences.

The steel band community that emerged as a result of the establishment of the Notting Hill Carnival can also be considered a cultural export of the Trinidad carnival to the UK and an off-shoot of Trinidad's steel band movement. Like the Notting Hill Carnival itself, steel pan music as a cultural export went through a process of establishing and embedding itself in the UK and, similar to the Notting Hill Carnival's central organising bodies, political embeddedness has been very important to UK steel bands' various associations. Of particular note are their relationships with the GLA and the former GLC. However, just as important has been their embedding in London's state school system.

International business research has highlighted the critical role of private research institutions and universities in helping foreign subsidiaries to upgrade and develop their internal capacities to drive innovation (White, 2004 and Song, Asakawa, & Chu, 2011). The steel pan as a cultural import faced many of the same challenges as multi-national firms, especially with building capacity. The pan pioneers were quite visionary and realised early on how integral public institutions could be in building their capacity and ensuring their longevity in the UK. They aligned with the UK state school system rather than universities or research institutions which served to build capacity and drive innovation in the long-term. Three of the steel band leaders interviewed trace their involvement with steel pan to the instrument being introduced into London schools, proving the effectiveness of this link. The ACGB was also approached to assist in building capacity of local steel band tuners.

Examining the steel band movement as an actor in the Notting Hill Carnival network also provides insights into how Notting Hill Carnival's embedding process has impacted steel bands specifically, and how their role in the event, and also wider society, has shifted over time. Particularly striking has been how the involvement of the GLC and the later the GLA brought renewed focus on steel bands within the Notting Hill Carnival. The steel band community through its various associations seemed to have been quite skilled in using their relationships with political actors to extract benefits for their

membership which extend beyond the Notting Hill Carnival. The GLC-funded Steel Band Music Festival launched in the 1980s and the GLA funded Pan in De Park launched in the early 2000s are two events which came about because of their relationships formed with political actors whilst participating in the Notting Hill Carnival.

6.7.2 Modes of Internationalisation (Imports and Exports)

The international business activity for steel bands is limited to imports and exports. The interviewees who used foreign inputs regularly were all Trinidadian or of Trinidadian descent. For steel pans, price was cited as a factor for importing from Trinidad but it was not the most important consideration because relationships are required to identify reputable suppliers and ensure quality. In the case of arrangers and tuners, price is not a factor as foreign arrangers and tuners cost more. It might be suggested that Trinidadian steel band leaders importing from Trinidad occurs simply because of “immigrant taste for goods from their countries of origin” (Rauch, 2001, p. 1185) or in the case non-Trinidadian importers, country image (Han, 1989), as Trinidad is the country of origin for steel pan. However, the actions of interviewee 9 in particular, indicate that the networks created by immigrant, Trinidadian-led, steel bands are also important facilitators of imports as their knowledge helps other steel bands to access an otherwise unknown market and industry. This confirms previous international business research which examines the importance of immigrant businesses and social networks in overcoming informal barriers to international trade (Greif, 1993; Gould, 1994 and Rauch & Casella, 2003).

The most popular exports according to the steel band leaders interviewed were public and private performances and merchandise (CDs in their case), whereas the least popular were sponsorship (mentioned by three interviewees) and tuning (mentioned by just one interviewee). Steel bands led

by Trinidadians/individuals of Trinidadian parentage did the widest range of exports. Networking and relationships were also cited as critical in securing business overseas but business networks was one of a few methods mentioned for securing bookings. Other methods included: working with High Commissions, agents and the steel bands' websites. It is interesting that none of these avenues were highlighted as sources of import information.

6.7.3 Processes of Internationalisation

From as early as 1976, steel band pioneers such as Sterling Betancourt were responsible for taking steel pan music to European countries such as Switzerland, France, Germany, Italy and Spain and eventually spreading to countries in Eastern Europe, Africa and the Caribbean and beyond. Tables 6.6-6.8 show that Western European countries are the most popular international destinations for steel bands to tour, suggesting that UK steel bands' international business progress can be explained by behavioural models such as the Uppsala or U model which proposes that firms engage in international activity through a series of distinct stages on increasing geographical distance and operational complexity (Leonidou & Katsikeas, 1996). The majority of steel bands leaders/members interviewed indicated that, as well as going to those destinations that were closest initially, they also started with public and private appearances before progressing to offering workshops. However, their activities have not extended beyond exporting, which is the simplest form of international business activity, whereas the U model describes firms progressing from exports to more complex forms of international business such as the setting up of fully-owned subsidiaries (Johanson & Vahlne, 1977).

The export behaviour of interviewee 9's steel band, however, does not confirm to the U model. His band went international soon after forming and, although going to a European country as its first

international destination, his band moved quickly to countries outside Europe such as South Africa and the United Arab Emirates. His band also quickly progressed into offering a range of export - products to these countries. His steel band exhibits the characteristics of Born Globals (Gabrielsson et al., 2008). His vision for the band from inception was international and there was not a big lag between its establishment and export activity. Additionally, he credits his experience working with another steel band for acquiring much of his knowledge and expertise, rather than relying on learning from his own band's activities. Born Globals, in a similar manner, learn from their channel or network partners. He credits the people and organisations he knows for much of his success.

6.8 Key Insights (Challenges and Opportunities of the Steel Pan's Internationalisation)

This chapter has shown that British steel bands played a pivotal role in transforming the Notting Hill Fayre into a Trinidad-style carnival. Steel band leaders, with other steel pan pioneers such as steel pan teachers, makers and tuners, subsequently established steel bands as a British institution and also exported steel pan music firstly to Western European countries and then to a number of other international destinations. These actions have had a number of benefits for Trinidad and Tobago as the country of origin for steel pan. Perhaps the most obvious is the export of steel pan instruments, which has been highlighted by Nurse (2009) as the main creative industries export for Trinidad and Tobago, accounting for 80% of exports in that sector. Nurse also highlighted the United Kingdom as a key market, as the United Kingdom together with the United States accounts for almost half of all steel pan exports from Trinidad. Interviewees also highlighted the generation of service exports such as tuning and arranging, which would not be captured in these statistics.

The promotion of distinct categories of tourism is another benefit highlighted by the interviewees as result of the establishment of UK steel bands for Trinidad. Interviewee 11 highlighted the Trinidad

Carnival's Panorama as a site of pilgrimage for British-born steel pan players. This phenomenon has also been observed by researchers examining modern day music festivals as a source of alternative spirituality (Partridge, 2006 and Kommers, 2011). Interviewee 22 described his visits to the festival more as a form of serious leisure as defined by Stebbins (1982), as he goes there specifically to compete in the Panorama. For interviewee 11, like other individuals who participate in serious leisure, work and leisure merge together. When he goes to the Trinidad Panorama, even though he is a part of a serious competition, he gets a great deal of enjoyment from it. Interviewee 11 also mentioned the cultural tourism aspects of his visits. He enjoyed learning about the Trinidad Carnival and Trinidadian culture. Interviewee 9, 12 and 13's descriptions of their visits to Trinidad for the Panorama, conferences, networking and also for purchasing pans demonstrate that, for many steel band leaders, Trinidad is a destination for business tourism (Hankinson, 2005). Although tourism is perhaps the most obvious of all festival impacts, the steel band leaders' interviews uncover an unexpected complexity in tourism motivations for visiting the Trinidad Carnival, which have yet to be explored by the country's tourism organisations.

The chapter also highlights that UK steel band's participation in Panorama and other Trinidad-style carnivals is becoming less and less prevalent because of the lack of financial support available for steel bands. UK steel bands are now prioritising appearing at other carnivals and festivals which provide appearance fees and reimburse expenses. If the Trinidad-style carnival community wishes steel band Panoramas to continue, there is an urgent need to develop these events in such a way that financial support can be provided to participating bands or run the risk of these disappearing entirely from some cities.

Chapter 7 – The Development of Masquerade at the Notting Hill Carnival

7.1 Overview

During the Notting Hill Carnival bank holiday weekend, masquerade bands are perhaps the focal point of the celebrations. They take to the streets in two days of colourful parades – with the children’s parade on Sunday and the adult’s main parade on Monday. Masquerade bands can consist of as few as 30 to over 1000 members. Masquerade bands or “mas’ bands” are described as groups with an interest in actively promoting and practicing the art of carnival in its many facets (CAMF, 2012). This nested-case study unit examines the establishment and development of Trinidad-style masquerade band traditions within the Notting Hill Carnival, its adaptation and subsequent spread to countries in Europe and beyond. It also outlines how the Notting Hill Carnival evolved from displaying Trinidad-style masquerade to a mixture of Trinidadian and Brazilian traditions.

7.2 The Evolution of Notting Hill Carnival Masquerade

7.2.1 Beginnings: From Port-of-Spain to Ladbroke Grove (early 1970s)

Masquerade bands within the Notting Hill Carnival, although sharing a distinct likeness to those in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, are not carbon copies of those run by Trinidadians. The first key distinction is their establishment within the Carnival. Unlike Trinidad, and also for example Toronto’s Caribana, Notting Hill Carnival celebrations did not initially include the parade of costumed bands. Trinidad-style costumed bands became a central part of the parade only in the early 1970s and their arrival was associated with the start of more militant celebrations. Early masquerade bands were established by steel bands who, in addition to introducing steel band to the United Kingdom (at the

Festival of Britain in 1951), can be credited with also introducing the first costumed bands as well. Ebony Steel Band is one such steel band. This steel band, although it no longer participates in costumed parades has had a costumed band since 1972 (Quarshie, 2009). As interviewee 11, a steel band leader related, “A lot of the [masquerade] bands that [are] around today, learned how to set up a band from us” (see chapter 6, section 6.2 for details on this interviewee). Mangrove and Nostalgia Steel Band are notable of examples of steel bands that continue this tradition (Mangrovesteelband.com, 2008 and Nostalgia Steelband, 2012).

However, Leslie Palmer is credited with introducing the first stand-alone Trinidad-style costume bands to the Notting Hill Carnival in 1973. Palmer was Trinidadian-born but grew up in London and went back to Trinidad to study carnival in 1974, and returned to work on mobilising steel bands and masquerade bands in the pattern of those in Trinidad (Cohen, 1993).

7.2.2 Organisation, Professionalisation and Expansion (mid-late 1970s)

The setting up of the CDC in 1973, based on the governance structure of the Trinidadian Carnival organisation (established since 1957), put a new focus on masquerade bands. For a start. Leslie Palmer took a leading role in developing the masquerade side of the Carnival; he “encouraged, cajoled and recruited people to make mas’ bands” (La Rose, 2004, p. 6), among them skilled masquerade makers Trinidadians Lesley Noel and Peter Minshall (today Trinidad’s most famous masquerade maker). They, along with others, introduced traditional Trinidadian masquerade- making techniques such as the art of wire-bending (using wire frames to build large costumes). Carnival bands, therefore, became significantly more elaborate, taking on fanciful themes like those in Trinidad, such as ‘Head Hunters’ and ‘To Hell with You’ (La Rose, 2004). In 1974, Lesley Palmer along with Notting Hill mas pioneers Mack Copeland and Lawrence Noel, also went to Trinidad and

asked the Trinidad Carnival Committee to get costumes for use in the Notting Hill Carnival. During this early period, the ACE was hesitant about funding the Carnival on the grounds that “it is not an artistic event” (Cohen, 1993, p. 46). The CDC, led by Darcas Howe (well-known columnist for the *New Statesman* and community activist) among others, would successfully make a case for the artistic merits of the Notting Hill Carnival and it began to receive subsidies as a result. The ACE gave money to the overall Carnival organising committee which then distributed sums to individual masquerade bands. However, the ACE’s funding was accompanied by quarrels about how the money was allocated and calls for accountability.

This period, although it is most remembered for the riots that took place at the Notting Hill Carnival in 1976, was also a period of considerable development for masquerade bands. With increasing attendance numbers at the Festival, the masquerade route was greatly expanded to include Portobello Road, Ladbroke Grove, Powis Square, Pembridge Villas, Ledbury Road, Talbot Road, Westbourne Park Road, St. Luke’s Road, Lancaster Road, Tavistock Road, Oxford Gardens, Great Western Road, Acklam Road, Golbourne Road, Westbourne Grove, Cambridge Gardens and all roads in between. Additionally, there was an increasing adoption of the masquerade management and marketing techniques from the Trinidad Carnival. In 1978, the CDC, under the leadership of Trinidadian masquerade maker Malcolm Thomas (who immigrated to the UK in 1973), set up five mas’ sectors in Greater London neighbourhoods, asking each one for suggestions for possible themes. When selections were made, he had a professional artist make sketches of the designs and these were displayed at an all-night party, so that potential Carnival masqueraders could make a selection of which costume they wanted, register an order and pay a deposit towards it (Cohen, 1980). This was the process by which masqueraders in Trinidad would purchase their costumes and the five mas’ sectors would have closely echoed the Trinidadian masquerade camp structure.

The 1970s also saw the introduction of the competition element to the masquerade with prizes being awarded for the bands judged to be of greatest artistic merit. These were distributed by the proprietor of the Mangrove Restaurant which served as the headquarters for the CDC during these early years (Cohen, 1980). Although Cohen (1980) highlights this period of 'Trinidadianising' of the Carnival celebrations as symbolic of London's Afro Caribbean community's assertion of its identity during a time of increasing racial tensions, heightened by high unemployment which was particularly felt amongst this community. It is also apparent that it can be linked to the enhancement and professionalisation of the Notting Hill Carnival masquerade product due to its increasing interaction with the Trinidad Carnival. The Notting Hill Carnival masquerade product, however, in contrast to Trinidadian masquerade product, was developed as distinctly Afro-Caribbean.

In Trinidad, the top 'mas' men' during the 1960s and 1970s included individuals of all races and their masquerade bands often reflected their ethnic diversity. For example, in 1967, Carlisle Chang (a Chinese Trinidadian) designed the band of the year called 'China, the Forbidden City' and, in 1976, Peter Minshall (a White Trinidadian) designed the Trinidad masquerade band of the year 'Paradise Lost' (costumes were based on the epic poem 17th-century English poet John Milton). They both designed these costumes bands for Stephen Lee Heung (a Chinese Trinidadian) who won the most Trinidad Carnival masquerade band year titles in the 1970s – an impressive three awards (Bestoftrinidad.com, 2004).

The Notting Hill Carnival during the 1970s, in contrast, had both the leadership of the CDC and the masquerade bands being dominated by Afro-Caribbean immigrants. The resulting masquerade product was therefore developed to address the concerns of Afro-Caribbean people in Britain during the 1970s. Many costumes focused on Afro-centric themes such as Lion Youth's (established 1977) Rastafarian representations (Dawson, 2007), and the masquerade bands established included education and empowerment as part of their mission. For example, Genesis Carnival Group's

(established 1980) mission is to promote the history of carnival to a wider public audience and educate the general public on the well-established history of the carnival arts (Genesis Carnival Company, n.d.). Interviewee 1 leads a band that continues that tradition by designing “radical mas” which addresses the concerns of Black people.

7.2.3 Masquerade Becomes a Legitimised, Cultural and Educational Product (1980s)

In the early 1980s, there was the initiation of the state-funded Carnival Industrial Project under which mas’ makers were encouraged to set up programmes to educate the youth in the arts of wire-bending and costume making. The CAC at that time also realised that the Carnival was fast becoming a successful leisure and tourism product and began to set up systems to control the participation of masquerade bands as part of that product. They instituted a system of registering bands, fixed a route for masquerade bands to follow, appointed stewards to accompany them, allocated panels for judging a masquerade competition, allocated monies for the prizes, as well as raising money for them (Cohen, 1993).

The impact of the increased funding by public sector organisations (which came up to £300,000 annually by the end of the 1980s), and the legitimising of the Carnival which came from initiatives such as the Carnival Industrial Project, was seen quickly. The audience for masquerade bands increased to one million and the number of masquerade bands also increased to around 50 by the late 1980s (Cohen, 1993). This brought with it an impetus to again innovate the masquerade product. Cocoyea mas’ band, for example, invited renowned Trinidadian mas’ man Wayne Berkeley to design its costumes and Greta Mendez’s Battimamzell organisation assisted mas’ bands with their dance presentations for their street parades (La Rose, 2004).

Additionally, arts education became a core part of what masquerade bands offered. This shift was confirmed in the interviews conducted with costumed band leaders. Without exception, interviewees stated that they offered education workshops, either as part of their marketing and recruitment of participants or as a revenue generating activity, with four out of the nine bands focusing specifically on school-aged children.

Moreover, interviewee 19 indicated it was also during this period that a Carnival Arts Officer was appointed by the ACGB especially to look after the concerns of masquerade bands. As part of this remit, the Carnival Arts Officer reported regularly on the outputs of the costumed parade as many of the bands participating were funded by the ACGB. The job involved visiting masquerade camps and inspecting the costumes made by masquerade bands, often joined by members of the Carnival community who it was felt could give useful insights (chapter 6, section 6.3.3 describes one such visit).

As was the case with steel bands, the legitimisation of masquerade-making as an art form can also be linked to the festival's overall framing as a Black Arts Festival in response to the development of the emerging arts policy agenda of promoting artistic work from ethnic minorities.

7.2.4 Brazilian Injection (from mid 1980s – late 1990s)

Another key product innovation of costumed parades at the Notting Hill Carnival, as compared to those taking place in Trinidad, is the inclusion of Brazilian-styled bands. Although the influence of Brazilian-styled costumes (typically bikinis elaborately styled with beading and feathers) are readily recognisable within Port-of-Spain parades – the music, dance forms (e.g. samba drumming and dancing)-, other design elements such as floats are absent. The 'London School of Samba' and

'Paraíso School of Samba' are typical examples of Brazilian-styled bands within the Notting Hill Carnival.

However, as one Brazilian masquerade band leader (interviewee 3) pointed out, these bands, although mostly based on the Samba schools of the Rio Carnival, are quite diverse due to their interaction with the local environment. Interviewee 3 explained that, prior to his band joining the Notting Hill Carnival parades, samba schools "seemed to be a bit English" and would often play a range of musical styles, including samba reggae, which is not in keeping with the Rio samba school tradition. Additionally, he commented that some London-based samba schools "decorate trucks and things like this" and that they don't have floats (heavily adorned moving sculptures which are built to strict specifications). Moreover, interviewee 3's band's floats have had to be built "in a kind of a scaled-down Rio style" to accommodate the narrow streets of Ladbroke Grove.

Batala, another costumed band based on Brazilian carnival traditions, in contrast to other samba-type bands, is based around Salvador-styled music. It should be noted that though these bands, despite their significant differences from their Trinidadian-styled counterparts, are frequently in demand at European carnivals, such as Rotterdam Zomercarnaval in the Netherlands and the Carnival de Kulturen in Germany, which also feature Trinidad-style masquerade.

7.2.5 The Good Times (1990s – early 2000s)

Many of the masquerade band leaders interviewed recall the 1990s to the early 2000s as a period of relative prosperity. The Carnival by this time was attracting sponsorship from major corporations and the level of support to individual band leaders increased. Interviewee 4 in recalling that period commented:

“Years ago you used to get £500 and think that it was a very small amount but you were grateful for it. Now you get nothing [...] no appearance fees [...]”

Some mas’ band leaders, as well as entrepreneurs, from the other cultural arenas of the carnival link this prosperity to the instalment of Claire Holder and the NHCEL, and later the NHCT. La Rose (2004) suggests it appeared that new NHCEL’s agenda was to privatise carnival and align it closely to big business. For some, this seemed a betrayal of the origins of Carnival but for mas’ band leaders there was the much appreciated benefit of much more money being available to assist in defrayment of the costs of putting out a costumed band. Interviewee 8 recalled:

“At least when we had Claire we had money [...] back in [those] days we use to win prizes and we [my band] used to make at least £2000 from being on the road.”

Not all masquerade bands, however, approved of the commercial turn taken by the NHCEL because it seemed that the ACE and, to a lesser extent, the London Arts Board became more selective in terms of which masquerade bands they funded, forcing some previously state-funded bands to become either self-supporting or cease to exist (La Rose, 2004).

7.2.6 Turmoil, Transition and Uncertainty (2000-present)

In 2000, the then Mayor of London, Ken Livingstone, commissioned the first major examination of the Notting Hill Carnival by establishing the Carnival Review Group. The review was initiated following the murder of two men during the festival that year (GLA, 2004). The key recommendations which impacted on masquerade bands involved stewarding and policing, and the Carnival route. The majority of masquerade band leaders interviewed have commented on the additional financial costs that the gradual increase of stewarding demands have placed on masquerade bands.

However, the recommendation for a change to the route so that it follows a non-circular path, which incorporates the use of Hyde Park, has been met with resistance and has yet to be implemented. The majority of masquerade band leaders interviewed felt very strongly that the parade of masquerade bands should remain on the streets of Notting Hill despite the continuing problems they experience negotiating the route.

Along with increased scrutiny and regulations, masquerade bands during the last decade also found themselves receiving increasing recognition. Following their inclusion in the Millennium Dome celebrations, Notting Hill masquerade bands were then invited to participate in the Queen's Golden Jubilee celebrations in 2002, which brought further legitimacy and also money to these cultural organisations. As interviewee 28, leader of a participating band, recalled:

“We did the Queen's Golden Jubilee. It was fantastic. They booked a coach and fed us. I think that is how we got recognised [got known by potential customers], so our designs were about the Queen, we did her money, her Beefeater and the Union Jack ...”

However, this period was highlighted by some masquerade band leaders as one in which they would become victims of their own success. As interviewee 4 observed:

“... during the Golden Jubilee year [...] people [masquerade band leaders] starting seeing the benefits of performing coming [...] and what did they do? They ganged up and got rid of Claire Holder [...] and they've never recovered, so sponsors and funding and all of those various things, they killed it.”

When Claire Holder was dismissed from the NHCT in 2002, masquerade band leaders responded to this crisis by forming their own association - the NHMBA.

The departure of Claire Holder has, for most band leaders interviewed, brought dual pressures of decreasing funding being available and increasing costs for security and stewarding. Some band leaders have also commented on the increasing levels of scrutiny and competition they have faced in making funding applications to various funding bodies, particularly to the ACE. It should also be noted that the new environment has been beneficial for some bands. In particular, the ACE's revamping of the regularly funded organisation scheme (Arts Council England, n.d.-a) has provided new opportunities for recently formed masquerade bands to receive funding. Under the old system interviewee 3 commented that:

“... unless you were incredibly lucky [...] or incredibly influential you couldn't become a regular funded organisation.”

This masquerade band leader was able to secure funding under the ACE's new National Portfolio Funding Programme but he concedes that “... we were [probably] one of the only [Notting Hill] Carnival groups who became regularly funded that were not funded before.” He also highlighted the fact that a number of Carnival groups lost their funding during the revamping process. He suggested some these groups (although deserving) may have lost their funding because they did not fit the ACE's new diversity initiatives, whereas others may have lost out because of their failure to demonstrate value for money.

In 2010, in preparation for launch of the National Portfolio Funding Programme, the ACE opened an application process for all cultural organisations to become regularly funded organisations. Among the key criteria highlighted for those Carnival organisations which received funding was their ability to contribute “strongly to the creative case for diversity” (Arts Council England, n.d.-b, p. 2). The ACE

has also made it clear that it will make financial intervention where it deems necessary “to ensure the maximum return on public investment” (ibid).

Interviewee 19 contends that there is essentially no difference in the process now as opposed to before. The difference is, in fact, essentially semantics. Even though the system is now “more transparent” because anyone can apply, in practice the application and award procedure is very much the same as before. The key difference now is that there is less funding available, so it creates additional competition, hence the situation that interviewee 3 alluded to.

All masquerade band leaders interviewed, without exception, expressed fears about the future of the Notting Hill Carnival, with some doubting whether a Notting Hill Carnival would, in fact, be staged in 2012. They all also agreed that the new LNHCL, despite its promise of being more transparent and democratic than its predecessor the NHCT, was not more effective. There was also a great deal of dissatisfaction with the performance of the NHMBA and the more recently formed Carnival Arts and Masquerade Foundation (CAMF). A number of interviewees mentioned the financial loss that was incurred as a result of the NHMBA hosting of the Grand Carnival Costume Splash in 2011. However, interviewee 3 stated that although mistakes were made by the NHMBA in the hosting of that event, it was no reason to disband the NHMBA and that the organisation was new and needed time to develop.

Interviewee 19 though was very positive about the future of masquerade bands and the Notting Hill Carnival as, from the perspective of the ACE, the event had all the ingredients to continue to be the recipient of funding. He did indicate though that the funding relationship was going to be a great deal more hands-off than it had been historically. In describing the future role of an ACE Officer working with a Carnival band, he said that he or she would be more like a “critical friend” who gives advice and feedback rather than directing activity. He also said that currently there were initiatives being

developed to assist masquerade bands as well as other cultural organisations to diversify their sources of funding.

7.3 The Business Operations of Masquerade Bands

7.3.1 Inputs (Funding, Costumes, Instruments and Related Products and Services)

There is considerable diversity in the business models of Notting Hill Carnival masquerade bands. The mission statements of the masquerade bands interviewed reveal that Notting Hill masquerade bands take on a great variety of forms, including cultural organisations, youth organisations, music bands (in the case of masquerade bands which feature musical instruments), production companies and all-inclusive experience masquerade bands. The all-inclusive experience masquerade band, although not that prevalent within the Notting Hill Carnival, is the most popular organisational form for masquerade bands in the Trinidadian, Port-of-Spain parades. These masquerade bands are characterised by a focus on providing food and drink, and a party atmosphere for their members. They are for-profit enterprises which charge their customers an all-inclusive fee for their costumes. Costume sales, ticket sales for events hosted by the masquerade band and private sponsorship deals are the primary means by which these masquerade bands generate income.

The rise of the all-inclusive masquerade band, like the success of the NHCL with securing title sponsorship deals, can also be linked to shift in broader consumption patterns, which were increasingly apparent in the late 1990s. It has been theorised that because of the effects globalisation (which noticeably intensified during this period), standard product offerings were no longer enough to attract and retain customers in an increasingly competitive business environment. To maintain price premiums and not be subject to commodification, organisations have needed to add services

and experiences to their offerings to stand out from competitors (Pine and Gilmore, 2011). For masquerade bands, this has translated into a decline in the importance of the physical costumes produced and an increasing importance being placed on the add-on services and also experiences they provide. The progressive increase of offerings by masquerade bands, particularly in the last three decades has been quite striking. The larger and more popular masquerade bands all offer a wide range of product, service and experience products.

In stark contrast, seven of the nine Notting Hill masquerade bands leaders interviewed, represented not-for-profit organisations, which were recipients of ACE funding, either as regularly funded organisations participating in the National Portfolio Funding Programme or through applications for project-based grants. These types of organisations are very dominant masquerade bands within the Notting Hill Carnival parades. The growth of these types of organisations can be linked initially to the reframing of the event as a Black Arts Festival to capitalise on an emerging arts policy agenda focused on promoting “ethnic arts” (Naseem, 1976), and their continued development and proliferation can also perhaps be partially linked to New Labour policies which focused on the development of the “creative industries” (Pratt, 2008).

However, all band leaders interviewed did indicate that their bands participated in commercial/for-profit type activities because ACE funding, along with the other government grants their masquerade bands receive, are not sufficient to cover their expenses. The two masquerade band leaders interviewed, who were not receiving ACE funding or any other types of government subsidy, indicated that their bands pursued a wide variety of commercial activities. In one case, the commercial activities were pursued to make profits; in the other, these commercial activities were undertaken to cover the costs of the organisation, as the band leader did not have a profit-making motive.

From inception, linking with an international network of organisations and individuals has been vital to the creation of masquerade bands at the Notting Hill Carnival. In particular, the Port-of-Spain Carnival parades have been an important source of information and expertise. Although Notting Hill masquerade bands have made considerable adaptations, the organisational and marketing techniques used in Trinidadian masquerade bands are widely used by those who participate in the Notting Hill Carnival.

Additionally, in the case of masquerade bands which follow Brazilian carnival traditions (interviewees 3 and 5), Brazilian carnivals are an equally important supplier of resources. The majority of masquerade band leaders interviewed stated that either Trinidad or Brazil was an important part of their masquerade bands' supply chain. One masquerade band leader (interviewee 2) interviewed revealed that all his costumes were supplied by a Trinidadian masquerade band. For both masquerade band leaders interviewed which followed Brazilian Carnival traditions, their bands depended on Brazilian producers for their costumes, merchandise as well as their instruments. Two of the masquerade band leaders interviewed travelled to Trinidad to buy materials (e.g. feathers, braids and beads) and would make their costumes in their London-based mas' camps. Table 7.2 provides a listing of the products imported by interviewees.

For those masquerade band leaders that were Trinidadian or of Trinidadian parentage, visiting the Port-of-Spain parades was also important for inspiration and for getting ideas from local masquerade band leaders.

Only two of the masquerade band leaders interviewed, one Trinidadian and the other of Trinidadian descent, sought suppliers from countries without carnival traditions. In one case, the masquerade band leader used Chinese manufacturers to make her costume designs and in the other, the band

leader would buy materials from the various countries he visited and bring these materials to his London mas' camp for local manufacture. The former decision was mainly driven by cost considerations whereas the latter was driven by creative reasons. See Figure 7.2

Just two of the interviewees said that their masquerade bands did not utilise overseas suppliers. In both cases, the masquerade band leaders were British-born and the band had no historical connection to Trinidad. These bands were also relatively small (100 members and below) and did not produce new costumes every year. Costumes in the case of these bands were offered to members as a loan in exchange for the fees they paid to the band with the expectation that members would return costumes in good condition for future use. For interviewee 28, great pride was taken in the fact that the costumes were British-made and of good quality:

“All [the costumes are] local. The whole idea of the Carnival and setting up a carnival band is to make sure that the young people make the costumes, because we are known for arts and crafts, we have to be seen making the costumes.”

Interviewee 3 also noted that overseas manufacture of costumes was frowned upon by some masquerade band leaders, even though he did not see the harm in the practice. He explained:

“I know that some Caribbean bands ... [import costumes] and people think that's a bad thing but to me it is the quality that you see in the street that matters and if it's made in China, it's made in China ...”

Conflicting views on the practice of outsourcing of costume manufacture or importing of costumes seemed to have emerged because of the varying definitions held by masquerade leaders on what constitutes an authentic masquerade band. For interviewee 28, a masquerade band's authenticity

was derived from traditional notions of the authentic, such as MacCannell's (1976) concept of authenticity which was linked to naturalness and being untouched by modernity. Interviewee 28, like many of her counterparts, believed that the practice of making costumes in the traditional way by the masquerade band members was an essential function of a masquerade band. For interviewee 3, his masquerade's band authenticity came from its ability to claim compliance to a verifiable standard, in his case meeting the specifications for bands which participate in the Rio Carnival. In his band's case, the desire to achieve an "object authenticity" (Wang, 2000) is one of the key drivers for importing costumes from Brazil. For some masquerade band leaders, such as interviewee 6, the concept of authenticity is not relevant to their decision to outsource costume manufacture. The decision is driven by cost-cutting motivations. Interviewee 6, believes her band's authenticity comes from its design capability not from its traditional costume making skills.

Table 7.1

Product Imports by Masquerade Bands

Interviewee Details			Products and Services			
Interviewee	Head's Nationality	Organisation Type	Instruments	Costumes	Raw Materials	Merchandise
1	British	Non-profit			✓	
2	Trinidadian	For profit		✓		
3	Brazilian	Non-profit	✓	✓		
5	Brazilian	Non-Profit	✓	✓		✓
6	British of Trinidadian Parent	Non-profit		✓		
8	Trinidadian	Non-profit			✓	

Figure 7.1

Import Markets for Masquerade Bands



KEY



UK Masquerade Bands



Other carnivals or festival destination



Trinidad Carnival destination



Import activity

NUMBER KEY

1. UK Masquerade Bands, **2.** Brazil – imports are costumes, merchandise, raw materials, **3.** China – import is costume manufacturer, **4.** India – imports are raw materials, **5.** Trinidad – imports are costumes and raw materials

7.3.2 Outputs (Product, Services and Experiences)

Notting Hill masquerade bands produce a wide range of products, services and experiences. Of all the cultural organisations within the Notting Hill Carnival, the masquerade bands offer the widest range of offerings because physical products, services and experiences are all equally integral to these organisations. See Figure 7.2 for a summary. For steel bands and sound systems in contrast, there is a clear emphasis on intangible offerings (such as services and experiences) rather than tangible ones (such as physical products). Additionally, these offerings are produced to satisfy a variety of motives. In some cases, the masquerade band will provide products, services and experiences at no cost, below cost or to break-even to their members or the general public as part of their mission or aims. Many masquerade bands are classified as charitable and/or non-governmental organisations and were therefore established to meet the social needs of their communities rather than generate profits. The social goals or aims of masquerade bands include: educating the public about the history and techniques used in Carnival Arts; developing the skills and talents of young people; and working with organisations (both locally and overseas) to use Carnival Arts to realise social and economic benefits for communities.

At the same time, all masquerade band leaders interviewed highlighted the urgency of exploring a wider range of fundraising activities, particularly sponsorship and other commercial initiatives, as over the years there has been less and less government funding available. For two of the band leaders interviewed, overseas markets were important sources of revenue. In countries with newly established carnivals, masquerade bands from the Notting Hill Carnival are employed for their specific expertise in the design and production of costumes, and the management and organisation of carnivals generally.

7.3.2.1 Product offerings

All the masquerade band leaders interviewed offered costumes to the members of their band who participate in Carnival parades but there is great diversity in how costumes are provided. In some cases, costumes were sold for an all-inclusive price, which covered food and drink, merchandise (such as band T-shirts, water bottles and tote bags) and discounts, and/or free entry to events the bands host. For the band leaders interviewed offering all-inclusive prices, tourists were a particularly important market segment. In other bands, band members were charged a nominal fee for their costumes which was far below its actual cost of production; in these cases band members may have assisted in making costumes for the band through their attendance at workshops during the year preceding the Notting Hill Carnival. In two instances, band leaders said that there was no fee at all, as band members would be given their costumes in exchange for fundraising activities they have undertaken on behalf of their band during the year. One particularly innovative pricing model was that of a membership fee charge of £1 per week. This band was a youth organisation who charged this quite low but regularly collected fee to teach members financial responsibility. It was run by interviewee 28.

One band leader interviewed (interviewee 6) also revealed she offered costumes to corporate clients to rent for special events. She also produced and shipped costumes for masquerade bands in foreign markets. Another revealed that his band produced costumes as bulk orders for other UK carnivals organised by local government organisations (interviewee 8). He would design and produce costumes for local authorities hosting their own carnivals.

Masquerade bands leaders interviewed revealed they also sold merchandise (such as CDs, DVDs and tote bags), costume-related clothing and accessories (including boot and shoe accessories and

T-shirts), and food and drink. These would be sold to band members and attendees at their special events. They could also be purchased by general members of the public through the bands' websites.

7.3.2.2 Service offerings

For eight out of the nine band leaders interviewed, training was the most important service their bands provided. This training took several forms. As might be expected, the majority of the band leaders interviewed confirmed that their bands offered training in costume-making. For most bands, this training took the form of weekly workshops which were used to simultaneously educate and recruit prospective members (particularly, those organisations focused on young people). This type of training was typically offered free of charge or at nominal cost, with the economic costs of the workshops being subsidised by an ACE grant. As noted by interviewee 3, most of the time, "workshops just about pay for themselves." For bands which include music as part of their performance during Carnival parades, workshops were provided to teach current members and new members how to play the instruments. These workshops again were typically offered free of charge or, in two cases, to break-even on the costs of running them. Interviewee 3 explained that his band offered workshops to non-members at a slightly higher price than that charged to its members as a means of generating additional revenue.

Training also took the form of masterclasses. Interviewee 8 explained he will offer masterclasses to community groups so that can they design and make costumes for themselves. A particularly unusual training programme revealed by interviewee 3 was offering carnival arts activities to corporate clients as a form of team building.

Other than training, the other crucial services offered by masquerade bands were consultancy services and sponsorship opportunities. Consultancy services were most often provided to

community and state-run organisations in countries or cities without a carnival tradition, so the masquerade band (typically the leader and creative staff) was contracted to teach these organisations about the practice and management of carnival arts. Sponsorship typically took the form of offering firms opportunities to promote their brands in exchange for a cash or in-kind investment. Five out of the nine band leaders interviewed worked with commercial sponsors and, in one case, commercial sponsorship was sought from a firm overseas.

7.3.2.3 Experience offerings

Public performances are an important means for masquerade bands to generate extra funding. For masquerade bands which include music as part of their costumed parade, in particular public performances (whether from steel pans or Samba drums) for private events are a particularly significant source of income. Three of the band leaders interviewed represented these types of bands. All three of these interviewees said that performances for corporate clients (for example, hotels), individuals (for example, weddings and parties) and other cultural events were important fund-raisers. These bands also engaged in busking (soliciting donations at public performances) as a means of raising income.

Another fundraiser for some bands is Carnival-themed events. The sale of tickets is the main source of income for these events but food and drink sales are also used to raise income as well. However, public performances and carnival-themed events are also undertaken by some masquerade bands as part of their social and/or community aims. Two masquerade band leaders also staged exhibitions. In both cases, these events were staged primarily for educational purposes. Interviewee 8 had the opportunity to host an exhibition overseas at Sydney's Olympic stadium:

“... an artist friend of mine into carnival invited me and she got me to exhibit the India work and she got me to do two tours, because at that point they had finished the Olympics and they were trying to do things with their Olympic Stadium ...”

Interviewee 8 was also able to generate income from providing curation services for exhibitions. Another band leader (interviewee 3) also explained that his band was able to use its experience staging events to offer event production to corporate clients.

Festival and event appearances are also a critical part of the experience that masquerade bands provide to their members. This was particularly the case for those bands which focus on young people, as these appearances are a way of expanding the cultural horizons of members, particularly when the events take place overseas. For example, interviewee 28 participated in cultural exchanges with bands in European cities such as Rotterdam and Berlin, which feature Trinidad-style carnivals. These activities are done for the social benefits rather than for financial gain. Funding to participate in these exchanges would be provided partially by the inviting organisation and partially through the band's own fundraising activities. Other band leaders also explained that appearing at festivals overseas was sometimes profitable, particularly in Germany and the Netherlands as there was “a different attitude”, according to interviewee 5, toward the arts in these countries. He explained that when his band appeared in the Netherlands, his band received an appearance fee and had its expenses paid:

“they pay ... for board and lodging and they have a guy who comes round with two guys, with tanks on their back full of water and they pour you out a glass of water for the drummers. On the continent you can actually make a living.”

Figure 7.2

Product, Services and Experiences of Masquerade Bands

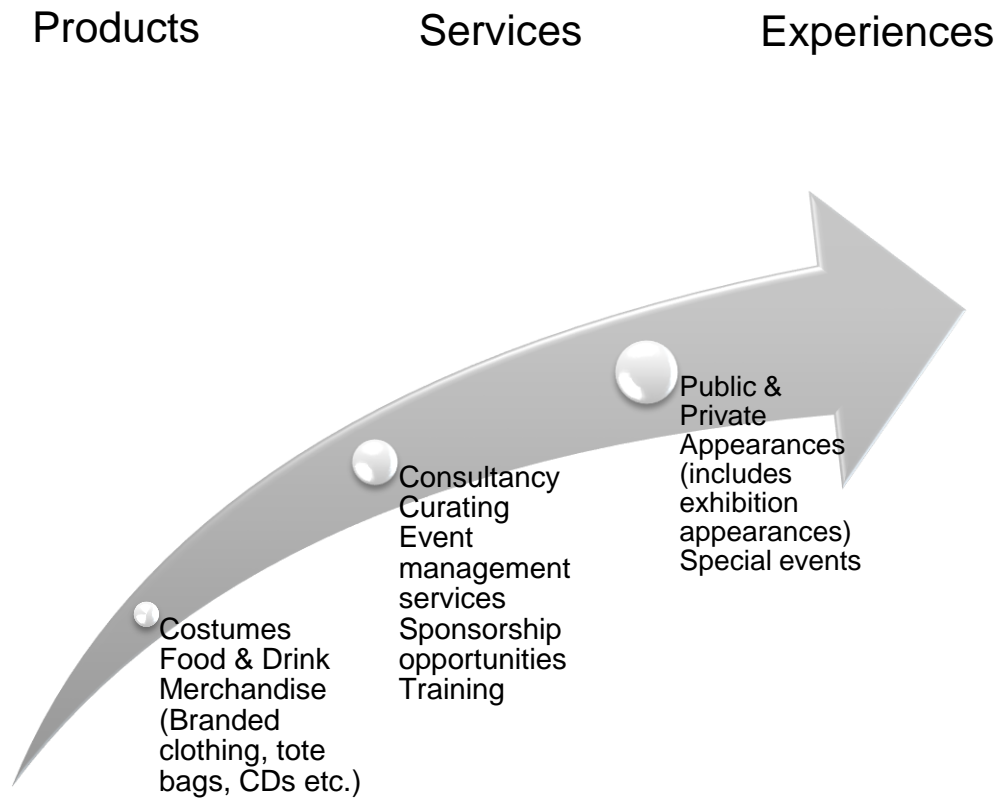


Table 7.2

Masquerade Bands' Products, Services and Experiences Exported

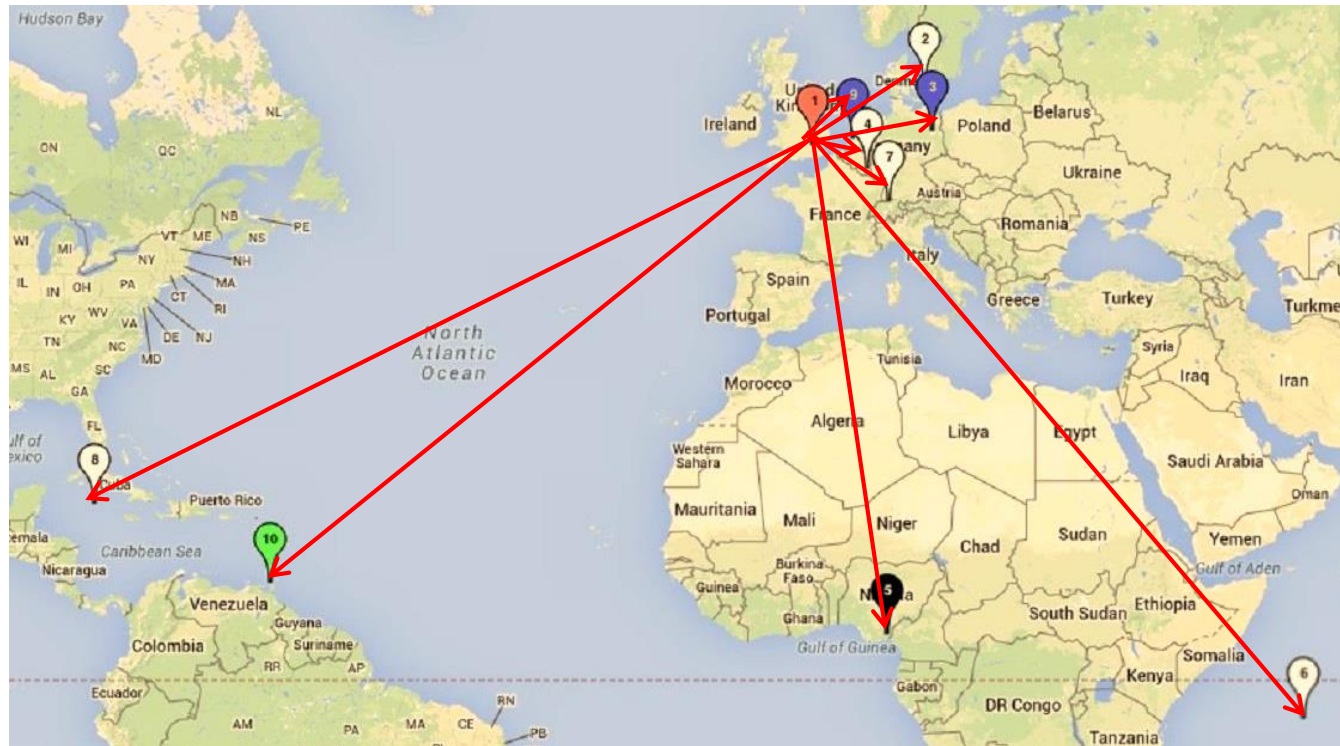
Interviewee Details			Products	Services			Experiences
Interviewees	Head's Nationality	Organisation Type	Costumes	Consultancy	Sponsorship	Training*	Public Appearances**
1	British	Non-profit					
2	Trinidadian	For profit			✓		✓
3	Brazilian	Non-profit					
5	Brazilian	Non-profit					✓
6	British of Trinidadian Parent	Non-profit	✓			✓	✓
7	Other Caribbean	Non-profit					✓
8	Trinidadian	Non-profit		✓		✓	✓
28	British of Other Caribbean Parent					✓	

* For ease of comparison across cases, training includes all knowledge exchange activities, including those described as workshops

** Public appearances also includes static displays of costumes and other costume-related art at exhibitions.

Figure 7.3

Markets for Masquerade Band Exports



KEY

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| UK Masquerade Bands | European T'dad-style carnival destination | Other carnival or festival destination |
| African T'dad-style carnival destination | Trinidad Carnival destination | Export activity |

NUMBER KEY

1. UK Masquerade Bands, 2. Denmark, 3. Germany, 4. Luxembourg, 5. Nigeria, 6. Seychelles, 7. Switzerland, 8. the Cayman Islands, 9. the Netherlands, 10. Trinidad

7.4 Masquerade Bands and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit

All the masquerade band leaders interviewed stated that they participated in many other carnivals, especially throughout London, the United Kingdom and Europe. Quite a few specifically visited Trinidad-style carnivals. Two of the interviewees also said that they served in a managerial capacity in festival organisations for two UK Trinidad-style carnivals. All interviewees were also conscious of being part of the wider carnival network (although they did not distinguish between Trinidad-style and non-Trinidad style carnivals). Interviewee 3, in particular, remarked that Notting Hill was vital in sustaining the network of other London carnivals and carnivals throughout the United Kingdom:

“I don’t think there would be any carnivals in London without Notting Hill Carnival. The focus of most bands in London is Notting Hill, but they would do Thames Festival or Hackney or this or that but basically if you take away Notting Hill it won’t work anymore.”


See Figures 7.4-7.6 for destinations within the Trinidad-style carnival circuit visited by masquerade bands leaders interviewed.

Figure 7.4

Masquerade Bands and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit (UK)



KEY

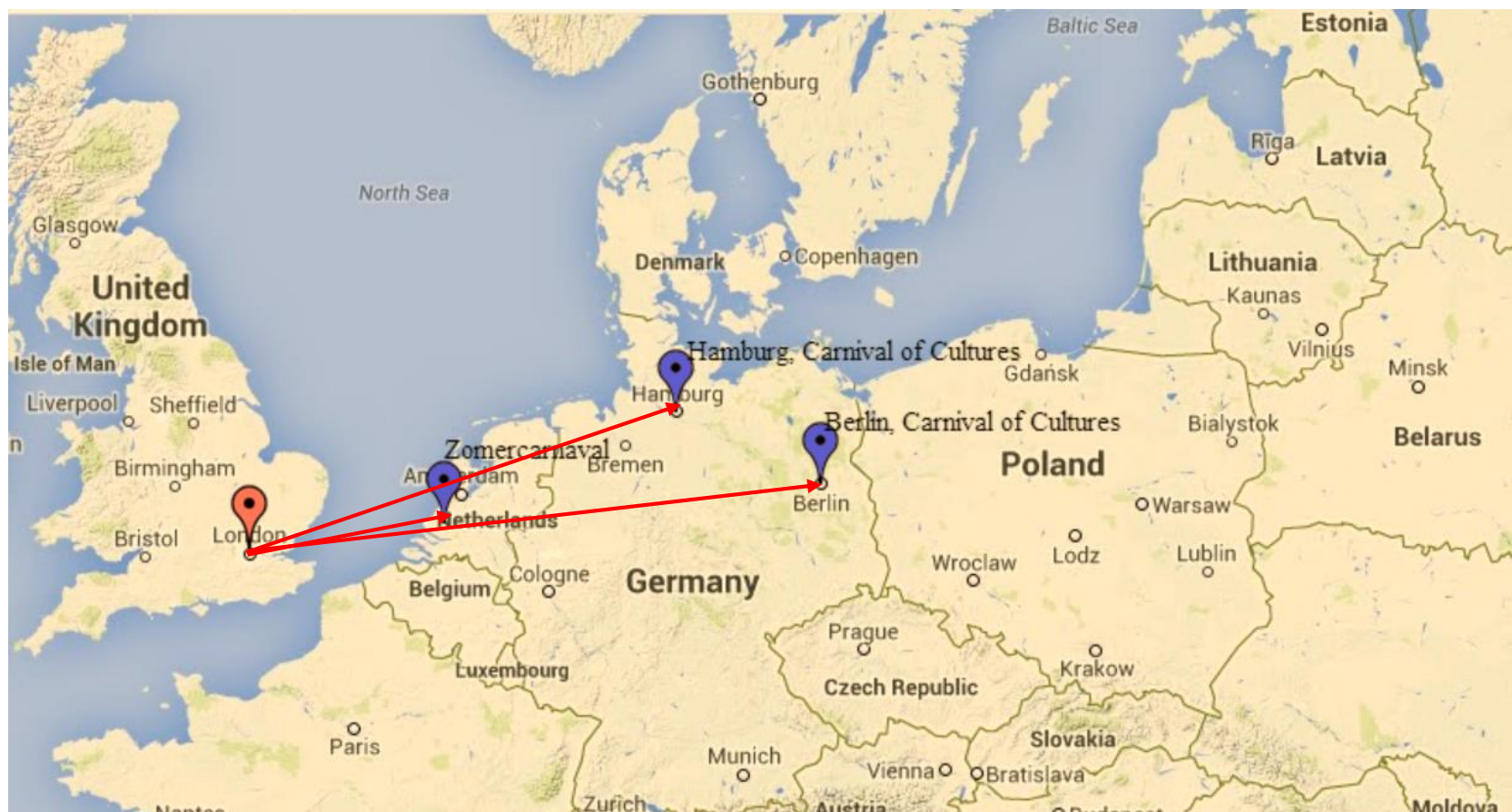
 UK Trinidad-style carnivals (excluding Notting Hill Carnival) visited by UK Masquerade Bands

NUMBER KEY

1. Calo Festival, 2. Hackney One Festival, 3. Luton International Carnival, 4. Coventry Caribbean Carnival, 5. St. Paul's Afrikan Caribbean Carnival, 6. Derby Caribbean Carnival, 7. Caribbean Carnival of Manchester, 8. Liverpool International Carnival, 9. Huddersfield Carnival, 10. Leeds West Indian Carnival

Figure 7.5

Masquerade Bands and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit (Europe)



KEY



UK Masquerade Bands



European Trinidad-style carnival


— Travel to participate in carnivals


Figure 7.6

Masquerade Bands and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit (Caribbean)



KEY

 UK Masquerade Bands

 Trinidad Carnival

 Travel to participate in carnival

7.5 Masquerade Bands and Other Festivals

European countries, such as the United Kingdom and Germany, have their own carnival traditions which pre-date the arrival of Caribbean migrants but these carnivals have, in many cases, embraced Trinidad-style masquerade bands. One such carnival is the Bridgwater Guy Fawkes Carnival, whose traditions can be traced back to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 when Guy Fawkes and his fellow conspirators failed in their attempt to blow up the Houses of Parliament. The celebrations centred on a bonfire but were eventually expanded to include a carnival parade starting in 1847, making it the oldest carnival in Britain (Bridgwater Carnival Ltd., 2012). Interviewee 6 visited this particular carnival. Likewise, the Dortmund Carnival (Karneval Dortmund, in German) evolved from Rheinisch carnival traditions, which combine Christian and pagan rituals and historically have been important for political protest. Organised carnivals of this type in Germany date back to 1823 in the nearby city of Cologne (Somers, 2008). Interviewee 7 was a regular visitor to this carnival.


The Caribbean and Brazil are also important non-Trinidad-style carnival destinations for bands with Trinidadian to Brazilian links. A masquerade leader interviewed with Trinidadian links was a frequent visitor to Grand Cayman (in the Cayman Islands), whereas Brazilian band leaders with links to Salvador and Rio de Janeiro (interviewees 5 and 3 respectively) participated in carnivals in those cities. One masquerade band leader interviewed (interviewee 8) also supplied his services to Tamsui Carnival celebrations in Taiwan.


Figure 7.7

Masquerade Bands and Other Festivals



KEY

 UK Masquerade Bands

 Other carnivals and festivals

 Travel to participate in carnivals

7.6 International Markets

Masquerade band interviewees, as compared to steel band interviewees, did not travel internationally very much outside of appearing at public events. There were a few interviewees (interviewees 6, 8 and 28) who offered training and consultancy services internationally. However, these services were usually tied to a public event. For example, interviewee 28's workshop with a German masquerade band was run with the goal of the band appearing at a Carnival of Cultures. Unlike steel bands, masquerade bands did not typically have private appearances for personal events such as weddings or appear at hotels overseas. Interviews with masquerade band leaders suggested that their engagement with international markets was focused mainly around appearing at carnivals, and Trinidad-style carnivals or Brazilian carnivals especially. Other than interviewee 8, who did a consultancy project in India to assist a group of artisans, there were no interviewees engaged in international activity that did not in some way involve an overseas carnival or public event.

7.7 Analysis

From the outset, interaction with international markets has been vital in the development of the masquerade within the Notting Hill Carnival. In contrast to traditional manufacturing firms in developed countries, the possession of assets, costs or economies of scale did not initially drive the decision to internationalise (Hymer, 1976). The early masquerade band leaders did not wait to accumulate assets or achieve economies of scale before going to Trinidad to import their first costumes. They chose instead to go to Trinidad from early on. This type of behaviour has also been observed among other small ethnic minority-owned business in developed countries. These businesses tend to rely heavily on family and community networks in the countries from which their

owners migrated to get their businesses started (see for example Ram, 1993 and Bagwell, 2008). However, there is a key difference between the behaviours of the early masquerade bands leaders and these small ethnic minority business owners. Unlike, for example, family-run Chinese restaurants or Indian-run retail stores, masquerade band leaders do not rely on family networks. Instead, their interactions with Trinidad were to gain resources that the country offered, as the early masquerade band leaders were British-born and went to Trinidad to gain knowledge and, later, import expertise, not link with existing family ties. They emulated the behaviour of the CDC and went to well-known masquerade band leaders to source their costumes and design capabilities.

Thus, the importing practices of these early masquerade band leaders is perhaps more comparable to rapidly expanding firms in emerging markets, who commit to global markets from the outset for the purpose of gaining access to assets not available at home (Mathews, 2006). It is this behaviour which enabled the Trinidadian masquerade traditions to become quickly embedded within the Notting Hill Carnival. Once these traditions were embedded, the masquerade product produced by bands was quickly adapted to the conditions of the society in which it was established. Masquerade bands, shortly after becoming part of the Notting Hill Carnival, became recipients of Arts Council funding which led to the development of a masquerade product that was very much, and continues to be, focused on arts education. Masquerade also became part of the Notting Hill Carnival when the event was taking on a more militant character and aligning itself with the concerns of the Afro-Caribbean community in London. As a consequence, some established masquerade bands were very Afro-centric and focused on Black politics. Additionally, in the 1980s, Brazilian masquerade traditions became part of the Notting Hill Carnival, reflecting the diversity of the city of London. These ingredients created a distinct Notting Hill masquerade product which, although based on Trinidadian masquerade traditions, is very much a hybrid of cultures and practices. This hybridised masquerade product is now being exported through these bands appearing at other carnivals and offering training workshops. Notting Hill masquerade bands are perhaps best described in the words of interviewee

8 as makers of “a people’s art”, as although starting off rooted in one tradition, they have shown themselves to be extremely adaptable and capable of incorporating a range of practices.

This diversity, in addition to adding new and distinctive dimensions to the costumed masquerade parades Notting Hill Carnival, has also led to some tensions and conflict amongst masquerade band leaders. Masquerade differs significantly from each other and there is no consensus on what an authentic band is or does. Whereas some like interviewee 28 believe an authentic masquerade band makes its own costumes, others, like interviewee 3, believe authenticity comes from meeting a specific standard, and importing is an acceptable way of meeting that standard because to him “...it is the quality that you see in the street that matters”. For some, authenticity is not a relevant concept. Their focus is instead on creating successful businesses and responding to consumer needs, which means the physical costumes are far less important than the higher value services and experiences they sell to their members. This stance can put them at odds with the prevailing notion that masquerade bands are creators of arts, although there are bands which are able to successfully combine business and artistic objectives, such as interviewee 8.

7.7.1 Masquerade Band Network Relationships

The practitioners of masquerade at the Notting Hill Carnival changed relatively quickly from portraying an imported culture to one that is very much rooted in its host community. A key reason for this is that masquerade bands within the Notting Hill Carnival are highly politically embedded. Despite the on-again, off-again relationship the ACE and its predecessors had with the various Notting Hill Carnival central organising bodies, it has consistently funded masquerade bands since the late 1970s. It is largely this relationship which has fuelled the development of the masquerade arts product. However, not all bands have these close links with the ACE. Interviewees 2 and 5 have never been funded by the ACE and do not have arts education agendas. Interviewees 2 and 5 have

instead chosen to develop specific leisure and tourism products which focus on their customers. Both, for example, offer tours to other destinations, especially to other Trinidad-style (in the case of interviewee 2) and Brazilian-style (in case of interviewee 5) carnivals. These bands have chosen instead to cultivate relationships with their customers and their bands' activities are largely funded by their members.

Interviewees 2, 3 and 5 also have close relationships with suppliers from the band leaders of origin and worked with a specific supplier or group of suppliers from a particular community. Interviewee 2 went as far as describing himself as part of his costume supplier's "family" of bands.

Masquerade bands as an entity or actor have not been as influential in shaping the overall development of the Notting Hill Carnival network. However, the development of the Notting Hill Carnival and the actions of the central organising bodies as focal actors has had distinct outcomes for masquerade bands. For example, it is due to the actions of the CDC that a link that with the ACE and masquerade bands is formed. Also, when NHCL signed title sponsorship deals with major sponsors, masquerade bands received much needed monies to defray costs. Additionally, the demise of the NHCT prompted masquerade bands to form their own organisation to represent their interests.

7.7.2 Modes of Internationalisation (Imports and Exports)

Although many of the activities of Notting Hill masquerade bands are focused on their immediate communities, many of these activities require international inputs to be carried out. Throughout the history of the Notting Hill Carnival, inward internationalisation (Fletcher, 2001) has been critical for the development of masquerade bands. In the early stages of the Carnival, inward internationalisation from Trinidad was especially important to establish the masquerade tradition, since local expertise did not exist. When Brazilian traditions were introduced to the Notting Hill Carnival parades, inward internationalisation from Brazil was also needed to establish these types of bands. Only two of the band leaders interviewed did not engage in imports, and out of all the bands represented by interviewees, their bands had fewest members. Both these bands were focused on young people and arts education. Additionally, these band leaders did not have profit making motivations and were heavily reliant on ACE funding.

All except one of the interviewees engaged in outward internationalisation (Johanson & Vahlne, 1977) by participating in exports. These exports included a range of products, services and experiences.. The majority of band leaders interviewed that had exports said their bands did paid appearances overseas as well as offering training. Only two of the band leaders interviewed indicated that they offered consultancy services in foreign countries, whereas only one band leader claimed to offer costumes for export.

Although the masquerade bands' international business activity consists solely of imports and exports, which are both low risk strategies that require minimal resource commitment (Wolff & Pett, 2000) these practices do highlight the significant role international markets have for the businesses of masquerade bands. Notting Hill Carnival masquerade bands are perhaps the focal point of what

is widely recognised as a “World Carnival” (GLA, 2004). Collectively, they have developed a masquerade product worthy of an international festival by connecting to the international network of carnival cities such as Rotterdam, Berlin, Hamburg, Port-of-Spain and Rio de Janeiro. Individual masquerade band leaders also incorporate inputs from their own networks from countries as far away as India and China into the masquerades they produce. It is striking that the London Development Agency (LDA) in calculating the economic impact of the Notting Hill Carnival does not include any of the income generated by masquerade bands, whether from their local or foreign activities. It instead suggests that the creative aspects of carnival (which would primarily refer to masquerade bands) is “dependent absolutely upon considerable public sector sponsorship” and that “without the contributions from the public sector” their practice will decline to a “low level” (London Development Agency, 2001, p.39). However, two of the masquerade band leaders interviewed did not receive, and also were not interested in pursuing, public sector funding at all. For one, his masquerade band was a strictly commercial venture, from which he has been able to profit for the past decade. For the other, the band was a means of pursuing a cultural activity and, although his band was not profit-making, it was entirely self-sufficient due to the private performances that the band undertook throughout the year. Both masquerade band leaders are able to take their bands abroad without any help from public sector agencies and engage in both imports and exports. Pratt (1997) recognised similar oversights in calculating the expenditure from other cultural products, hence advocated calculating expenditure from a system of production which includes original production, production of the means of production, reproduction and mass distribution and sights of exchange of rights to consume. The economic impacts that are measured from the Notting Hill Carnival come from cultural industries outside the cultural production process which Pratt (1997, p.32) describes as “derived consumption and tourism”.

7.7.3 Process of Internationalisation

To the casual observer, it may seem that Notting Hill masquerade bands are spreading to new markets by gradually increasing their distance from Notting Hill, following the Uppsala model of internationalisation, which is described as an outward process with a series of distinct stages on increasing geographical distance and operational complexity (Leonidou & Katsikeas, 1996). With the exception of Trinidad and Brazil, destinations outside of Europe were not destinations visited by the majority of the masquerade band leaders interviewed. For example, whereas seven out of the nine band leaders interviewed said that their bands had participated in the German and/or Dutch Carnivals, just one or two bands leaders said that their bands had been to carnivals in countries such as the Cayman Islands, the Seychelles and Taiwan.

However, interviews with individual masquerade band leaders revealed that, at the level of the firm (masquerade band), the decision to go overseas was driven by the masquerade band leaders' personal networks and experience. Personal relationships were especially valuable when securing overseas sponsors, consultancy, training contracts and clients for private performances. For interviewee 8 in particular, his ability to network and establish professional relationships overseas was especially striking. This band leader first started working in Notting Hill and Liverpool, and then went to India, Taiwan and then Australia, amongst other destinations, to pursue a variety of consultancy projects, displaying an unpredictable pattern of outward internationalisation similar to interviewee 9, a newly-established steel band. Although the geographic spread of activities of this band masquerade is not typical of the sample of masquerade bands interviewed, for those masquerade bands which engaged with international markets (seven out of the eight other interviewees), the process was remarkably similar to interviewee 8. In all cases, their initial engagement with overseas markets came from their own personal relationships; additional overseas enquiries were then later generated by the band's reputation.

Thus, the internationalisation of Notting Hill masquerade bands can be better explained using network models of internationalisation (Hadley & Wilson, 2003). As theorized by (Johanson & Mattsson, 1992), masquerade bands can be viewed instead as firms that engage in and develop international relationships. The network view of internationalisation also implies “that a firm’s progress and route towards internationalisation is, to an important extent, dependent on its current network positions” (Axeleson & Johanson, 1992, p. 218). This was seen to be very much the case with Notting Hill masquerade bands. From the band leaders interviewed, it was apparent that those bands which started out with existing international links, particularly to Trinidad, engaged in international activities far more quickly than those without; also the range of activities undertaken tended to be far greater. The more unusual activities, such as the sourcing of overseas sponsors, bulk export of costumes and the staging of exhibitions overseas (in each case undertaken by just one of the masquerade band leaders interviewed), were all done by bands with Trinidadian links. The one masquerade band leader interviewed that did not yet engage in international activities was British and without links to Trinidad, Brazil or any other overseas market.

7.8 Key Insights (Challenges and Opportunities of Internationalisation for Masquerade Bands)

It is clear that Notting Hill masquerade bands have developed a distinctive brand of costumed masquerade which is centred on arts education, community participation, cultural education and exchange. These aspects have helped to position the Notting Hill Carnival model of success for European cities such as Rotterdam and, most recently, Berlin which are seeking to engage residents of diverse cultural backgrounds and to provide recent immigrants with an opportunity to show presence and demonstrate affiliation (Office Carnival of Cultures, n.d.). These aspects have evolved through a dynamic process of interaction between both local and international activities. The shaping

of Notting Hill masquerade bands by local factors such as political and socio-economic conditions, arts policy and regulatory environments has received a great deal of attention within academic literature (see for example, Cohen, 1983 and Burr 2006). However, the emphasis of these studies is on environmental factors rather than the practices of the masquerade bands themselves. Similar types of studies can be found in articles which mention Trinidad-style masquerade bands in Toronto (Jackson, 1992), New York (Kasinitz, 1992) and even in Trinidad (Hosein, 2006). Whilst environmental factors are, and continue to be, important shapers of the growth, development and spread of Trinidad-style masquerade, perhaps even more important are the actions of masquerade bands/band leaders. Their individual choices led to the development of distinct masquerade band organisation types which depended on the masquerade band's leader beliefs about authenticity or whether he/she focused more on responding to ACE's agenda of "Great art and culture for everyone" (Arts Council England, n.da) or responding to consumption trends within the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 2011).

Both the archival research and interviews have shown that masquerade band leaders have been deliberate shapers of a variety of masquerade band types, which have created international markets for a range of products and services that are both imported and exported.

In their home market of the United Kingdom, Notting Hill Carnival masquerade bands enjoyed very early success in creating a new product of arts education devoted to the study of masquerade-making and, as a result, received funding through the Carnival Industrial Project from the 1980s. Moreover, masquerade band leaders, because of their ability to adapt their products to serve the ever-changing agendas of the ACE, have made a significant contribution in terms of challenging the notion of what constitutes legitimate art in Britain (Hylton, 2007).

To achieve this level of success so quickly, masquerade bands' interaction with international markets was critical. Like many firms from emerging markets, the early masquerade bands realised importing resources was critical for rapid expansion. However, in contrast to firms in emerging markets, the Notting Hill bands are firms in a developed market that sought out resources from developing countries (in their case mainly Trinidad and Brazil) as means of growing, developing, innovating and renewing their masquerade product. Like cultural products in other arenas (e.g. advertising, music and film), the outputs of masquerade bands have been channelled into "ever more spatially extended networks of consumption" (Scott, 2000 p. 4). Notting Hill masquerade bands, whilst they are very much embedded in their local communities, are sought after by carnivals in Europe, in the Caribbean and Latin America and beyond for appearances, training and consultancy. They also engage suppliers such as large-scale manufacturers in China and small producers and individuals from Brazil and Trinidad. These firms exemplify the "mingling of global, large-scale and local, small-scale cultural enterprises" that characterises the post-modern cultural field (Mommas, 2004, p. 509).

Masquerade bands also span manufacturing, service and experience industry divides, echoing Pratt's (1997) concept of a cultural production system which includes production, infrastructure, distribution and consumption. However, masquerade bands, unlike other categories of cultural producers (e.g. advertisers, filmmakers, music and producers), have production cycles which, though cyclical, are discontinuous and extremely variable. They produce costumes, run workshops, do paid performances and undertake consultancy according to seasonal demands. They also do so using very little infrastructure and mainly using their personal contacts as distribution networks. This perhaps goes some way to explaining why the earnings generated by these firms have gone unnoticed by both public sector agencies and academics seeking to measure the business opportunities generated by these types of firms, and why the focus has primarily been the additional consumption generated by their participation in festivals. See for example (London Development Agency, 2001 and Nurse, 2003).

Archival research and interviews with band leaders have shown that both Trinidad and Brazil are sources of inspiration for the masquerade displayed at the Notting Hill Carnival. These countries also derive a range of financial benefits including business and cultural tourism, exports of materials, costumes and additional employment opportunities both at home and overseas. Interviewees 2 and 5 spoke of being part of a “family” or “group” of masquerade bands that imported costumes from Trinidad and Brazil respectively. This suggests, therefore, that financial benefits derived from masquerade bands, especially to Trinidad, could be quite significant. As Nurse (1999) points out, almost every major city in North America and the United Kingdom has a Trinidad-style carnival. At the centre of each of these celebrations are costumed bands, which could potentially be importing costumes, raw materials and design expertise from Trinidad. There are also similar emerging opportunities for Brazilian masquerade producers as interviews suggest these bands are now in demand at Trinidad-style carnivals.

The challenge for masquerade bands seeking to internationalise, going forward lies in locating and accessing international opportunities, since these exporting opportunities seem to depend on leveraging existing network relationships and building new ones. As diversifying funding sources becomes an increasingly important imperative, masquerade bands may seek out international markets for new opportunities. For masquerade bands without existing networks or contacts, this may prove difficult. Moreover, for the vast majority of all interviewees, funding was derived locally and although international funding opportunities was a way of raising additional funding for some bands, for others the investments required to pursue international markets may not be worth the returns, especially in the short-run.

Chapter 8 – Kingston Meets Port-of-Spain: Static Sound Systems and the Adaptation and Popularisation of the Notting Hill Carnival

8.1 Overview

In Jamaica, sound systems are an integral part of the dance hall scene, which were traditionally characterised by night time street parties in which sound systems played music in the open air. Jamaican sound systems traditionally play reggae, dub and dancehall music, which are dominated by strong bass line rhythms. Henriques (2011, p. xxi) describes the dancehall scene in Kingston, Jamaica not only as “a bass culture in terms of the pumping lower frequencies of the reggae bass line”, but also a “bass culture as a popular street culture”. Sound systems as part of this street culture are frequently examined as highly-politicised entities, which are a melting-pot of “Rastafarianism and a strict Christian religiosity; sexually explicit costume and choreography with internationally censored anti-gay lyrics; local and global markets; sectarian ghetto political violence and American consumerist values” (Henriques, 2011, p. xxi). Historically, sound systems have also been identified with political parties, appearing alongside reggae singers, such as Bob Marley, as part of political election campaigns. A notable example was former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley’s very successful re-election campaign in 1972 (Stolzoff, 2002). They have also been credited with the global spread of Jamaican Rastafarianism and its ideologies (Savishinsky, 1994).

When static sound systems joined the Notting Hill Carnival in 1975, the festival took on a more militant and political character as well as a wider appeal, as these systems were, by this time, playing the music of what was by then (the mid-1970s) the music of the Black masses in the United Kingdom – Jamaican originated reggae (Gutzmore, 1982). Many saw their addition to the Carnival as the beginnings of the Carnival becoming a much contested space and also a movement away from its

Trinidadian roots (see for example, Nurse, 1999). Although others have acknowledged the significant role of static sound systems in attracting Black youth and the wider Caribbean Diaspora to the festival, the majority of Caribbean immigrants to the United Kingdom were not from Trinidad but from other Caribbean islands, Jamaica in particular, and had no link to Trinidadian Carnival traditions of costumed masquerade, steel pan and calypso (Cohen, 1980).

This nested case study unit provides an understanding of how the inclusion of static sound systems has helped to shape the creation of the distinct cultural product that is Notting Hill Carnival.

8.2 History of Static Sound Systems at the Notting Hill Carnival

8.2.1 Turbulent Beginnings (1975 - 1979)

The introduction of sound systems to the Notting Hill Carnival can be traced to the same individual who was responsible for introducing Trinidad-style masquerade to the carnival – Leslie Palmer (La Rose, 2004). Although his involvement with the Carnival Development Committee lasted just a short time (1973-1975), he would fundamentally change the Carnival forever, arguably making it one of the UK's largest and most politically significant events. As interviewee 18, a member of the NHCEL, NHCL and the NHCT remembers:

“Leslie, he didn’t stay long, just long enough to do that one very important thing [introduce sound systems to the carnival]”

To many, up until the year that the sound systems joined the Carnival, the festival was seen “in every respect unchallenging to the state, both local and national”. It appeared to be an occasion when “the Caribbean people [mostly Trinidadian] enjoyed the recreation of a little bit of ‘home’” and for the White

population to enjoy the “exotica of it all” (Gutzmore, 1982, p. 31-32). In fact, in the years just prior to Palmer’s involvement, 1971 and 1972, the Carnivals were very poorly attended and staged. Cohen (1980) cites among the reasons for this was the re-housing of many of the residents, rising racial tensions and the waning of the hippy and other non-conformist movements. This situation limited the attendance to the festival to die-hard Trinidadian supporters and dwindling numbers of White British people who though continuing to participate, had no clear concept of the event and lacked an understanding of the artistic traditions involved (Gutzmore, 1982).

Thus, the addition of sound systems playing reggae music which spoke of violence, blood and police oppression, tapped in the newly-established counter-culture that was growing among the British born youth of Caribbean heritage. Many of these youth had grown up alienated, demoralised and disillusioned due to underachievement at school and lack of employment opportunities which were compounded by a hostile environment of racial discrimination. The messages of reggae and Rastafarianism with its Black God, who would deliver his Black people from Babylon (in their case London) and take them back the Promised Land of Africa, gave these youth not only a renewed sense of identity but also “... a world view, political philosophy, an exclusive language, rituals in the form of special appearance and lifestyle ...” (Cohen, 1980, p. 75).

The reggae soundtrack coupled with a live broadcast on BBC London took the festival’s attendance from being poorly attended in 1971 and 1972 to a reported two hundred and fifty thousand in 1975. It also turned the Carnival into an important commercial venue for the sale of Caribbean food and drink – an important tradition which continues through to the contemporary festival (Gutzmore, 1982).

However, the sudden and substantial rise in attendance numbers at the festival brought unprecedented challenges as well. For starters, there had never before been such a mass gathering of people at the Carnival and, in particular, so many Black youth attending one event. The difficult

relationship that emerged between festival goers and the police thereafter as a result is discussed in chapter 5 of this thesis. Cohen (1980) also highlighted the artistic and logistical difficulties that arose from two very different music styles providing music at the same event. It split the event into two sets of competing activities – an active mobile procession and a group of stationary record-playing discos. It also sparked resentment among the steel band leaders who were adamant that reggae records could not provide suitable music for a Carnival parade, as the sound of reggae was melancholic and did not suit a parade which involved revelry and celebration. Other arguments that arose, such as the authenticity of electronic versus acoustic music are discussed in chapter 6.

In 1976, the initial teething problems caused by the inclusion of the Jamaican sound systems at the Carnival would be dwarfed by what were described as riots that occurred in that year. In anticipation of potential incidents the police increased their presence at the festival by eight fold. Some commentators argued that the police in their anticipation of disorder had actually caused the riots. Although the then Commissioner of police, Sir Robert Mark, has since stated that there were some forty incidents between the Black community and the police in the period preceding the Carnival, and that the ensuing riots were in fact a protest against the police (Jackson, 1988), many in the Carnival community linked the highly contentious relationship that the Carnival continues to have with the police to the introduction of the Jamaican sound systems. As interviewee 17, a member of a sound system that has appeared at the Carnival since 1989 years relates:

“... it’s the sound systems, it’s always the sound systems, anytime anything goes wrong at the Carnival, we always get the blame.”

Interviewee 21 who has been playing at the Carnival since the early 1980s also commented on the contentious relationship between the steel and masquerade bands and the sound systems. He explained “they don’t want anything to do with sound systems.”

This view persists even though there were regular police raids on the Mangrove restaurant (the one time headquarters of the Notting Hill Carnival) starting from the early 1970s, see for example (Cohen, 1980). Another persistent view is that the introduction of the static sound systems marked the ending of live steel bands accompanying masquerade bands during the costumed parade. The dominance of disc jockeys playing recorded music on moving trucks (also known as mobile sound systems) accompanying costumed bands is not seen as particularly desirable by many in the Carnival community. One complaint is that the music is not live, particularly amongst masquerade band leaders:

“... now the steel bands are separate from the costumed bands and they go round at a different time. To me, that’s such a terrible shame. To us [live] music on the street is an absolute crucial thing so until last year [2011] we were the only band to put musicians on the street ...” – Interviewee 3

However, mobile sound systems are the predominant music accompaniment for costumed band parades at all Trinidad-style carnivals, although none of them, except for UK-based carnivals, include static sound systems as a distinct cultural form within their celebrations. Cohen (1980) highlights the technological problems that hampered the introduction of mobile sound systems before 1978 when they first appeared at the Notting Hill Carnival. For example, the problems of needles skipping as turntables were transported and the difficulty of providing a mobile power source to produce a sound at a suitable level of amplification. These would be solved by 1978 and 1979 as elaborate devices were developed “to overcome the technical problems of putting sound systems on mobile platforms and providing enough battery power to produce loud music” (p.176). For interviewee 11, a veteran steel band leader, the switch from steel band music to mobile sound systems for the costumed parades was inevitable, he explained:

“Once people get used to listening to music at a certain volume, forget it, they can’t hear pan music after that.”

The new hybrid festival that was developing as a result of the introduction of Jamaican sound systems undoubtedly brought new challenges to the Carnival. The introduction of a culture which did not share Trinidad’s carnival traditions led to resentment among Trinidadian organisers who began to feel that Jamaicans were beginning to dominate what was essentially their festival (even though they had taken over a festival that had been started by a non-Trinidadian, in fact a British social worker), a view that was also shared by West Indians from other Caribbean islands. As Western (1993) highlighted in his study of Barbadian families, some Barbadians ceased to feel an affinity for the Notting Hill Carnival because, in their eyes, it had been hijacked by the Jamaican sound systems.

However, following the riots, the Carnival found new fans when it came to the attention of the fledgling punk scene. The actions of the attendees were immortalised in the lyrics of the Clash song ‘White Riot’, which suggested the Notting Hill Carnival was a symbol of Black youth resistance to an exploitative and oppressive system, a form of rejection that the punk generation needed to emulate (Dawson, 2005). The lyrics are supportive of the actions of the Black youth who lobbed bricks and other objects at the police at the 1976 festival (Strummer & Jones, 1977B) and suggested that White youth should have the same courage to stand up against social injustice:

“Black man gotta lot a problems
But they don't mind throwing a brick
White people go to school
Where they teach you how to be thick”

8.2.2 Expansion, Organisation and Regulation (1980-1989)

Up until 1988 as the Carnival continued to grow, so did the number of sound systems participating, as Cohen (1991, p. 132) notes by 1987 there were "... 160 of these, with deafening sounds powered by mains taken from private houses". Along with the great expansion in the number of sound systems, there was also an expansion of music styles played. For example, when Good Times joined the Carnival in 1980 with its twin decks and funky "soul blues" music, it introduced a whole new sound to the Carnival. No longer was the traditional one-deck reggae sound dominant, as other sound systems were quick to follow the example set by Good Times and introduced a host of new music genres to the event (Phillips, 2004). Rap Attack, whose first appearance at the Carnival was in 1984, also had a similar style to Good Times as they entered the Carnival as a soul/funk DJ outfit (Rapattack Sound System, n.d.). Throughout the decade, music from pioneering rap artists from the United States such as Grandmaster Flash, the Sugar Hill Gang and Kool Moe Dee was also prevalent (Phillips, 2004). Many sound systems also started playing soca instead of reggae music, as the latter genre declined in popularity (Cohen, 1991). By the mid-1980s, the framing of the Notting Hill Carnival had moved on from being a Trinidadian Carnival or even a Caribbean Carnival to a Black Arts festival, and the expansion in music genres which included the entire "Black Atlantic" reflected this change (Melville 2002, cited in Anderson (2010, p. 117).

The 1980s was marred by violence but in 1987 came a major flashpoint with the first recorded murder at the Carnival. Michael Augustine Galvin, a 23-year-old stallholder, was stabbed to death (Daily Mail, 2011) which placed the Notting Hill Carnival organisers under increasing pressure to more tightly control and manage the festival. In that year, the sound systems would respond by forming their own organisational body called the British Association of Sound Systems, more commonly known as BASS. In an article in *Notting Hill Carnival: The Official Magazine* published that year, BASS was described as being formed in response to "much confusion" (Anon., 1987b, p.

34). Norman Jay, of the well-known sound system 'Good Times' described the 1980s as “the bad old days” (Chernin, 2002 p. 10).

Interviewee 21 also remembered 1987 as a key turning point at the Carnival. Up until that point, he ran an unlicensed bar as a means of recouping his expenses. He recalled that after the murder of a man “over a can of Pepsi”, all the unlicensed bars stopped and a number of restrictions came into effect.

The period of seemingly unbridled growth of sound systems at the Carnival stopped in 1989, when the new Notting Hill Carnival Enterprise Limited (NHCEL) was installed. Among the changes implemented by the NHCEL was a seventy-five percent reduction in the number of sound systems so that their number dropped from one hundred and sixty to around forty. Another change was a 7:00pm curfew that was implemented on the playing of music by sound systems (Greater London Authority, 2004), along with the allocation of sound systems to specific sites (Touch Magazine, 1996). Many writers suggest that the NHCEL was put in place in order to make the Carnival less radical and to appease the Arts Council and the police (see for example, (Roussel-Milner, 1996 and La Rose, 2004), and that the reigning in of sound systems was a central part of this process.

8.2.3 Recognition and Reinvention (1990 – early 2000s)

The 1990s was described by many commentators as a period in which the Carnival would enjoy the greatest commercial success and the members of the sound systems, perhaps more than any other cultural arena of the Carnival, greatly benefitted from this time of relative prosperity. It was in the 1990s that members of the sound systems alongside masquerade bands would first receive appearance fees to be at the Carnival. In contrast to masquerade bands, sound systems were not

recipients of Arts Council funding and were also not the recipients of prizes. The latter would also change in 1993 when two new competitions were introduced, one for the most “professional sound” which was judged by BASS, and another for the “sound with the best visual presence” which members of the public were invited to judge (Anon., 1993 p. 41).

During the 1990s, a new crop of sound systems would also join the Notting Hill Carnival, such as the very commercially successful Rampage (first appearance 1993), 4Play (first appearance 1994) and Sancho Panza (first appearance 1994). These sound systems would also showcase all new genres of music for the first time at the Carnival, particularly genres from the UK’s emerging Black music scene, such as jungle, garage, and drum and bass. Whereas throughout the 1970s and 1980s the Carnival was a venue for the celebration of Black music from the Caribbean and the United States, in the 1990s, through the sound systems, the Notting Hill Carnival audience was introduced to home-grown Black British music as well. In the 1990s, sound systems such as Sancho Panza would also introduce House music, another genre that was also becoming popular in the UK through its increasing exposure at major rock festivals and the underground rave scene. Additionally, Latin Rave Street Jam (first appearance 1992) introduced Latin music (Touch Magazine, 1996). As Melville 2002, cited in Anderson (2010, p. 117) highlighted, the music played by sound systems at the Notting Hill Carnival is the living embodiment of “Britain’s multicultural evolution”, noting that the sound systems draw on the music of the Black Atlantic and the forms of the Afro-Caribbean in particular, but that their combined sound has also been forged by London. This became very apparent during the 1990s.

Another big change that took place during this period was the invitation of tenders for the live stages during the Carnival (Touch Magazine, 1996). Radio stations Kiss FM and Radio 1, along with *Touch Magazine*, would put up huge stages on which high profile DJs, as well as popular recording artists such as Destiny’s Child, Jamiroquai and Ice Cube, performed. In the 1990s, the appeal of DJs

became very apparent and for many there was no longer a “question of denying their right to participate”, as by 1996, sound systems were drawing a reported sixty–five percent of attendees (Tuckey, 1996., p. 7).

However, their growing popularity at the Carnival would also cause a great deal of friction. Like in the 1970s, there would be an exponential increase in attendance figures. During the 1990s, attendance figures would soar into the millions before the decade was over. This surge in attendees would again spark complaints about overcrowding and fresh calls to either ban or relocate the Carnival to Hyde Park or Wormwood Scrubs, as there were in the 1980s. Moreover, other carnivalists (masquerade, steel band leaders and calypsonians) began to feel that they were being unfairly exploited because the sound systems used their allocated sites at the Carnival to promote their artists and products, without any “concession or promotion of the Carnival culture that they were milking” (La Rose, 2004, p.10). Others feared that “traditional elements” would be “totally eclipsed by the combined effects of commercial pressure and cultural apathy” (Tuckey, 1996, p. 7).

8.2.4 Regulation and Professionalisation (2000-present)

In the early 2000s, sound systems would find themselves coming under fire again, when fatalities at the 2000 Carnival prompted a review into Notting Hill Carnival. In an interim report published by the Greater London Authority in 2001, amongst the recommendations regarding crowd congestion and carnival activities and content, were “the relocation of the live stages and those static sound systems drawing crowds of over 5,000 people to more suitable sites within the existing Carnival area, or to alternative venues” and that “Sunday should be returned to the traditional practice of being ‘Children’s Day’ and this must be reflected by reducing the number and type of sound systems” (Greater London Authority Carnival Review Group, 2001, p. iv). The interim report also stated that the view held by traditional carnivalists (which it identified as masquerade bands, steel bands, soca

bands and calypsonians) is that “prominence needed to be given to ‘those disciplines that expressed the traditional elements of Carnival’” and that residents were of the opinion that “particular forms of popular music being played by the large static sound systems attracted or encouraged undesirable and anti-social behaviour” (p.28).

The finding that sixty-five percent of attendees at the Carnival came principally to hear sound systems from the 1996 survey done by the Notting Hill Carnival Trust, which had previously been used to highlight the value that static sound systems brought to the festival, was quoted in the report to show that the sound systems were “a significant driver of crowd density and size” (p.29).

In a somewhat ironic twist, as the Notting Hill Carnival was being reframed as the “London Notting Hill Carnival”, the individuals credited with broadening the event’s appeal and making it relevant to London’s youth were being described as outsiders who were undermining traditional practices. The Notting Hill Carnival, like the Trinidad Carnival, is an event comprised a series of improvised traditions. Thus, just as it is impossible to establish a set of authentic practices or object authenticity (Wang, 2000) for the Trinidad Carnival, it is not possible to define a set of authentic traditions for this event. It is only possible to describe its traditions in terms of an emergent (Cohen, 1988) or existential authenticity (Kim and Jamal 2007). The enduring popularity of the open air street parties and stalls selling food and drink demonstrate that these practices, if not initially widely accepted have become integral to the event suggesting both an emergent and existential authenticity because of the values ascribed to them by attendees. For many, sound systems became and continue to be the reason to attend the Notting Hill Carnival. Arguably, sound system leaders continue to successfully negotiate challenges to their authenticity and legitimacy because of festival attendees’ embracing and accepting their art form.

It should be noted that the post 2000 period was not all negative for the sound systems. In 2002, when Notting Hill Carnival masquerade bands were featured in the Queen's Golden Jubilee procession, Norman Jay of Good Times, a sound system veteran by this time, was officially cited in the Queen's Diamond Jubilee Birthday Honours List with the recommendation that he be appointed a Member of the Order of the British Empire.

In the following year, when the London Development Agency undertook the first study to determine the economic impact of the Notting Hill Carnival, the popularity of the sound systems was reconfirmed. The activity at the Carnival which proved the biggest draw was music and live bands with twelve percent of attendees in response to an open question indicated that this was the reason they came to the Carnival. It was the fourth most popular motivation overall – the top three were fun (sixteen percent), curiosity (fourteen percent) and meeting up or socialising with friends (thirteen percent). The study also pointed out that “although, clearly, Carnival would not be Carnival without the procession and the costumes, the importance of the music cannot be underestimated” (London Development Agency, 2003, p. 18).

Additionally, following the interim report published by the GLA, BASS responded by strengthening its organisation and forming an executive team initially headed by Lewis Benn and succeeded by Ricky Belgrave, who currently heads BASS. This new executive team was very successful in articulating the concerns of BASS and the positive contributions of sound systems to the Carnival, raising its organisation's profile and countering the challenges made to their authenticity and legitimacy. For example, Ricky Belgrave was elected as the first Chairman of the Executive Committee of Carnival Arenas (ECCA) and he was a member of the NHCT in 2002 (British Association of Sound Systems, 2008). Additionally, in the full strategic review document published by the GLA in 2004, BASS' disagreements with the interim 2001 review were highlighted, as well as the fact that, in contrast with their colleagues in the other arenas of the Carnival, they did not receive

any money from arts funding bodies. It was also noted that the traditional arenas of the Carnival needed to do more to embrace BASS members, as the sound systems were a good source of knowledge and expertise as they, without any direction from the NHCT “developed their own strategies to address safety issues” and “they were able to use their abilities, knowledge and experience of the Carnival crowd to recognise problems around them and implement positive measures to quell crowd disturbances when they arose” (GLA, 2004, p. 54).

BASS currently maintains its forty-two sites at the Carnival which it had been allocated in 1989 but this has come at a price. BASS strictly enforces the legal restrictions placed on sound systems. As interviewee 14, a BASS member since 2009 explained:

“We are time restricted as well from 11:00 in the morning to 7:00 at night. If we go past that you get into trouble. The council fines us through BASS, so they [BASS] would address it at the next meeting or by writing. They would write us and let us know what’s gone wrong and how serious the implications are and everything else [...it] could be possibly be missing our spot for [the] Carnival the following year or missing our spot for good.”

As is highlighted in the GLA strategic review document, the curfew for sound systems was introduced in 1988 and had always been adhered to, whereas the 9:00pm shut-down time for the rest of the Carnival had yet to be achieved (GLA, 2004). Since the dissolution of the NHCT in 2002, BASS and its members also work more closely with the police and the local councils. Additionally, BASS has increased its involvement in the administration arrangements of the Carnival.

“[...] whereas before it was the (NHCT) they were kind of the umbrella organisation. I mean the police and the council were still approving everything for many years but from our

experience we were more dealing with a Notting Hill Carnival organisation and now that organisation is not so prevalent in the decision making [...]" – Interviewee 15

"Essentially the BASS job is to tell us what to do and how to behave. In essence they are the counselling body for the sound systems to tell us [the council's and police's] rules and regulations, we have to abide by them [...]" – Interviewee 14

Moreover, there have also been escalating costs for the implementation of the additional public safety measures prompted by the publication of the strategic review document, which have been borne by individual sound systems. Interviewee 15 BASS member since 1994 relates:

"[...] we also provide stewarding down there, security down there at our own cost and these are things that are increasing year on year and we've just agreed that we would bring in more security this year [2012] at the request of the police [...] we agreed to another two and perhaps another four. You're looking at two people at £300 a day, so you're looking at another £600. If you add another four it's another £1,200. So suddenly it all adds up."

These increasing costs are being incurred in an environment in which commercial sponsorship is getting increasingly difficult to come by for some sound systems. Although it is perhaps assumed that sound systems have a much easier time attracting sponsors than "traditional carnivalists", interviewees 14 and 15 both related the difficult funding environment they are currently facing, but at the same time highlighted that there were other sound systems who had very good sponsorship deals in place. For interviewee 21, Notting Hill Carnival is the only venue where he "pays to play". He said in all other instances when he "plays out", he is paid. He says the main reason he continues to go the Carnival is because the younger members of his sound system plead with him to go every year.

Interviewee 17 reported working consistently with sponsors for the past five years because the financial burden of the Carnival was simply too great for him to bear alone. However, unlike colleagues who were members of the CAMF, for example, all the members of BASS interviewed expressed confidence in their organisation and were optimistic about their future and the future of the Carnival as a whole.

8.3 The Business of Sound Systems

8.3.1 Inputs (Financing, Equipment, Music)

Unlike their colleagues in the other cultural arenas of the Carnival, sound systems typically do not receive any Arts Council or other forms of state funding such as from the National Lotteries Fund or from their local councils. Each sound system is responsible for privately funding itself to appear at the Carnival. However, there is a great deal of variation in how each sound system achieves this. In some cases, the sound systems will acquire licenses for the sale of food and/or drink and the proceeds may cover their costs and allow them to make a small profit from the Carnival. There are also those who generate revenues from hosting special events at the Carnival. Others will have sponsorship contracts which pay them to appear at the Carnival. Others still will fund their appearances from income derived from their businesses at other times of the year. Most do a combination of activities.

Sound systems can also vary a great deal in terms of how the sound system components are sourced. In some cases, sound systems can hire all their equipment from a local supplier (as was the case for interviewee 15). This option has distinct advantages as it means the sound system does

not need to undertake a large capital investment and it will also, in some cases, be able to access the latest equipment:

“[...] we have a really good relationship with [...] the organisation our sound system comes from. We’re almost seen as a kind of research and development site. We’ve had products out there that have not been out on the market. So in terms of technology of the sound system I would say we’re at the cutting edge ...” – Interviewee 15

Interviewees 14 and 15 both commented on how dated many of the sound systems which owned all their sound equipment were. Interviewee 21, however, did not consider sound systems who did not own their own equipment as real sound systems. He described them as “freelance DJs”. As was the case for masquerade bands, the concept of a real or authentic sound system differed from sound system to sound system. For the older sound system leaders of Jamaican descent that were interviewed, building and owning your own sound system was essential. For the British sound system owners, being part of a tradition of owning and building your own sound system was not viewed as important. For them, it was the quality of the sound that was important.

Sound systems which build their own systems are able to source components which may not yet be available from local suppliers by importing them from overseas. Norman Jay, for example, claims to have introduced the two Technics SL10s turntables to the Notting Hill Carnival in 1982, which he had first seen only in America (Chernin, 2002). Interviewee 17 explained he had a piece of equipment custom-made for him in Jamaica for a “particular sound”. His original dub plates were also sourced from Jamaica. He travelled to Jamaica to acquire these plates because he felt this was the best way to do so:

“Well I wanted to cut dubs and if you want to cut dubs – it’s Jamaican artists – Beenie Man, Bounty Killer, Merciless, all various artists. It’s better to go to Jamaica. What was happening, people who was dealing with people from Jamaica, sending their money over and not getting the material.”

Interviewee 17 explained that having a contact (albeit, a cousin who he had never met) was very important in getting a fair price for dub plates:

“I gave my cousin the money and he dealt with everything, [he told me] ‘don’t talk because once they find out that you’re English, the price is just gone sky is the limit’ [...]”

Interviewee 21 also used to source dub plates from Jamaica. He is of Jamaican origin and like many of the sound systems established in the 1970s in the UK, his system is named after one of Jamaica’s sonic innovators. He visited the recording studio of the original sound engineer from which he took his name and, in that way, established important key relationships that would enable him to get dub plates from that studio. After establishing the relationship, he would routinely go to Jamaica to get dub plates, or family members who had been sent money by interviewee 21 would buy the plates and send them to him. Both interviewees 17 and 21 are reggae sound systems and participate in sound clashes (competitions of sound systems). Dub plates are vital for ensuring sound clash victories. Unlike vinyl records, dub plates are one-off master cuts of tunes which feature MCs toasting (voicing original lyrics) along with the tune’s bass line. The sound system with the most exclusive tunes, voiced by the most exclusive MCs, would typically be judged the winners at sound clashes (Baek & Hedegard, 1999 cited by (James, 2008)). Interviewee 14 employed a strategy of owning and hiring equipment which was all sourced locally.

Although just four DJs were interviewed, it is quite striking that the sound systems headed by White British DJs, who both identified themselves as West Londoners, both source their equipment from suppliers located fairly close by. Interviewee 14's sound system hires its equipment from a company in London and interviewee 15's sound system equipment is hired from a company in Surrey. Interviewee 17, in contrast, was born in Manchester to Jamaican parents and sources some of his equipment from Jamaica. Additionally, although he is currently based in London, he also gets some of his sound system components in the United Kingdom from as far away as Sheffield.

Both interviewees 15 and 17 have had well known DJs from overseas make guest appearances at their sites at the Carnival. In the case of interviewee 15, these DJs have come from the United States, whereas interviewee 17 has one regular guest - a sound system from Germany.

Table 8.1

Product Imports by Sound Systems

Interviewee Details			Products	
Interviewee	Head's Nationality	Organisation Type	Equipment	Dub plates
17	British of Jamaican Parentage	For profit	✓	✓
21	Jamaican	For profit		✓

8.3.2 Outputs (Product, Services and Experiences)

Sound systems, like organisations in the other cultural arenas of Notting Hill Carnival, provide products, services and experiences. Although they are all private businesses, the sound systems owners interviewed did say that they provided a social or public good – by playing at festivals and other events at no cost. However, non-paying appearances were limited to one-off events, with the exception of their annual appearance at the Notting Hill Carnival.

Interviewee 14 belongs to a newly-established sound system so outside of the carnival season, its activities were limited to playing at small private parties and other small public events. However, interviewee 15's sound system was established for over 20 years and his sound system did a host of public appearances which included appearances at major music festivals, club nights, warehouse parties, and other events. His sound system has also done merchandising. It has sold T-shirts and also compilation CDs. However, interviewee 15 did acknowledge that his merchandising efforts were not profitable but were done primarily as a means of promoting the sound system. To finance its appearance at the Carnival, the sound system holds two bar licenses. The sound system has also occasionally worked with sponsors. Interviewee 17's sound system, in addition to playing at Notting Hill Carnival, played at carnivals in Bristol and Birmingham, and also in Cologne Germany. He said in Germany in particular his sound system was very well paid for its appearances there:

"I go and play Germany regular. I haven't done it for the last two years but when I play Germany I get paid very well. I get looked after very well. It's brilliant they get you a whole apartment. [If] we're hungry they pick us up they take us for something to eat. They pay for it. [If] we're relaxing in a bar – they buy all the drinks [...]."

Interviewee 21 also played in Germany and, in addition, the Netherlands regularly. He also highlighted that "European promoters" were far more respectful than British promoters. He explained:

"Whether them have ten or one hundred people in a dance they pay the price that was agreed. Some of these British promoters when they dance done you looking for them and you can't find them."

Interviewee 21 also echoed a similar sentiment to interviewee 5, a masquerade band leader, made about European promoters. Interviewee 21 said that European promoters had “a different attitude” which was more professional and business-like (see chapter 7, section 7.3.2.3 for interviewee 5’s comments). Locally, interviewee 21 primarily made club and bar appearances. He also did private events such as parties and christenings for very low prices, earning his system the honour of being the “poor people’s defender”.

In earlier years, a key source of income for interviewee 17’s sound system was hosting its own events – primarily house parties, which were very profitable. More recently, he has started hiring out his sound system equipment and selling dub plates. Until recently, to finance its appearance at the Notting Hill Carnival, the sound system held a licence for a food stall and a bar. In the last five years, food and bar sales have proved insufficient due to rising costs, so the sound system began to work with sponsors:

“[...]it’s not even like setting out to get into sponsorship, I couldn’t manage the weight no more, yeah at first it weren’t bad, I could manage the weight because I still was doing the house dances and still making the money on the circuit so it wasn’t so bad, do you know what I mean but then everything went up, everything went up, yeah the fees went up, then there were fees that you never had to pay, now you have to pay these fees, it’s like every single year they bring in, they fling something else underneath the table, you’ve gotta pay for [...]”

It is because of the revenue from sponsors that the sound system is able to cover all its expenses at the Carnival and also make a small profit. Interviewee 15 also noted that sponsors were becoming increasingly important for his sound system. He explained that, without a sponsor, his sound system would have made a loss at the previous year’s Carnival in 2011. He related:

“[...] the reality for us if we hadn’t had that little bit of money [from a sponsor] we would’ve lost money at [the] Carnival and that’s with us running two official licensed bars. The whole Carnival is changing. I don’t have a problem with that it’s just that it does make it more financially challenging every year.”

Although the majority of business activities undertaken by sound system owners interviewed were local, playing at events outside of the United Kingdom was seen as important. For example, interviewee 14, whose sound system had yet to venture overseas, spoke very highly of the sound system his sound system had replaced. He explained that the sound system was playing in Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and “had no need for attending the Notting Hill Carnival anymore.” Unpaid appearances were limited other than playing at Notting Hill Carnival and, in interviewee 17’s case, even his appearance at Notting Hill Carnival is paid, as it is entirely paid for by a sponsor. Interviewees 14 and 15 also referenced other sound systems that had ongoing sponsorship deals that meant that “they don’t have to worry” about the costs of appearing at the Carnival. None of the DJs interviewed had this type of ongoing sponsorship deal. Instead, they had all worked with smaller companies which did one-off sponsorship deals. For example, interviewee 15, although he has been sponsored consistently for the last five years – each year the sponsorship is with a different organisation-, and with the exception of working with a large sportswear manufacturer in one year, his sound system has worked exclusively with smaller organisations.

Like their counterparts in the other arenas of the Carnival, the sound system members interviewed indicated that they engaged in a range of commercial activities, which includes product sales (e.g. merchandise and food and drink sales), services such as sound equipment hire, and also experience goods such as appearances at public and private events, and managing and promoting their own events. However, unlike masquerade bands and steel bands, they do not regularly undertake unpaid appearances overseas. Also notably absent is a focus on consultancy and training services. Figure

8.1 provides a summary of offerings described by the sound system members interviewed. Table 8.3 lists the offerings that are exported.

Figure 8.1

Product, Services and Experiences of Static Sound Systems

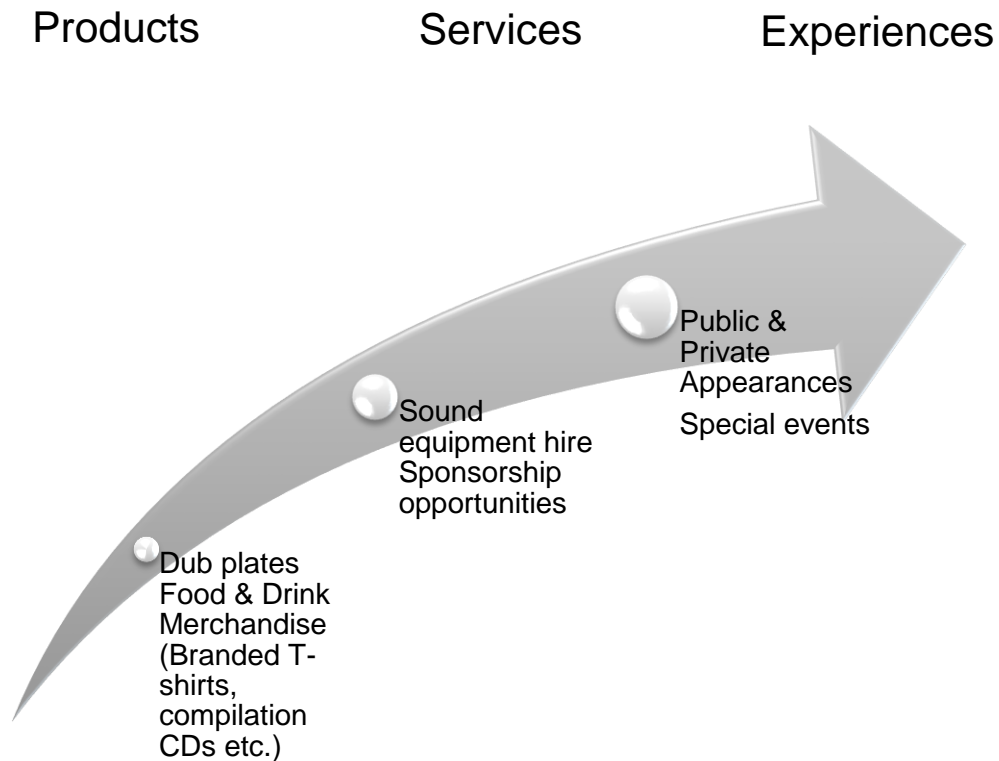


Table 8.2

Product Exports by Static Sound Systems

Interviewee Details			Products		
Interviewee	Head's Nationality	Organisation Type	Dub plates	Public Appearances	Private Appearances
15	British	For-profit		✓	✓
17	British of Jamaican Parentage	For-profit	✓	✓	✓
21	Jamaican	For-profit		✓	✓

In terms of export destinations, only interviewee 15 travelled extensively to a number of destinations. A full listing is provided in section 8.6.

8.4 Sound Systems and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit

In chapters 3 and 5 of this thesis, it was noted the Notting Hill Carnival has been very influential in shaping the development of a number of UK Trinidad-style carnivals and, as a result, a number of these carnivals also feature sound systems. Interviewees 17 and 21 both played at other Trinidad-style carnivals. Interviewee 17 played regularly at the Birmingham International Carnival and at the St. Paul's Afrikan Caribbean Carnival, Bristol. Interviewee 21 also played at the Birmingham International Carnival, in addition to the Leeds West Indian Carnival. Interviewees 14 and 15 did not appear at other Trinidad-style carnivals. See Figure 8.2.

8.5 Sound Systems and Other Festivals

Interviewee 17, like interviewee 7's steel band, has also been featured at Cologne's Carnival in Germany. Interviewee 15 made appearances at a number of major music festivals in the UK. These included the Glade Festival, Glastonbury Festival, Bestival and the Big Chill Festival. His sound system has also appeared at the Sonar Festival in Barcelona, Spain. Interviewee 15 credits his experience at the Notting Hill Carnival as vital for getting his sound system known and also providing important training so that he could participate in these large festivals. Interviewees 14 and 21 did not appear at festivals other than the Notting Hill Carnival. See Figure 8.3.

Figure 8.2

Sound systems and the Trinidad-style Carnival Circuit



KEY



UK Trinidad-style carnivals (excluding Notting Hill Carnival) visited by Sound Systems

Figure 8.3

Sound Systems and Other Festivals



KEY

-  UK Sound Systems  Other Festivals  Travel to festivals

Note: The Glade Festival is not shown above due to its frequently changing location in recent years.

8.6 International Markets

Three of the four interviewees also appeared at number of private parties and other events internationally. Interviewee 17 travels regularly to Germany to do club events and he has made occasional appearances in Jamaica. Interviewee 21 also does paid appearances in Germany and the Netherlands and has done one-off unpaid appearances in Jamaica. Interviewee 15 performed in several countries overseas at a range of events which include club nights and warehouse parties. His sound system has been to France, Spain, Italy, the Ukraine, China, Thailand, Malaysia and also Brazil. See Table 8.3.

Table 8.3

Sound System International Destinations

Interviewee Details			Europe						Asia			Other Countries	
Int.	Head's Nationality	Org. Type	FRA	GER	ITA	NET	SPA	UKR	CHI	MAL	THA	BRA	JAM
15	British	FP	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓ ✓	✓	✓	
17	British of Jamaican Parentage	FP		✓									✓
21	Jamaica	FP		✓		✓							✓

ABBREVIATIONS**Interviewee Details**

Int. = Interviewee
Org = Organisation

European Countries

FRA = France
GER = Germany
ITA = Italy
NET = the Netherlands
SPA = Spain
UKR = Ukraine

Asian Countries

CHI = China
MAL = Malaysia
THA = Thailand

Other Countries

BRA = Brazil
JAM = Jamaica

8.7 Analysis

In the early 1970's, Leslie Palmer faced a considerable challenge to rejuvenate and broaden the appeal of the Notting Hill Carnival. In 1971 and 1972, changing politics and populations within the Notting Hill area meant that the festival was losing its relevance. In response to this situation, Palmer decided on the bold course of action of adding sound systems to the Notting Hill Carnival. This gamble would ultimately prove successful as it took the festival from appealing to an increasingly niche market of the Trinidadian Diaspora residents in London to one that embraced the wider Caribbean Diaspora, Black British-born youth as well as the emerging British punk scene .

It could be argued that this move was, in fact, a necessary adaptation to respond to the changing cultural and political landscape of the United Kingdom, which is comparable to the international marketing practice of marketing programme adaptation. Some market researchers argue that a marketing programme is a local issue and the best course of action for a product is that it be differentiated from market to market. In adapting a marketing programme, a product's attributes, pricing, distribution strategies and promotion tactics are changed in order to conform to local tastes (Doole & Lowe, 2012). Palmer, by adding Jamaican sound systems to what was essentially a Trinidadian festival in the early 1970s, created a relevant and enormously popular cultural product for the United Kingdom. International market research highlights that products, like events, which are more likely to be influenced by individual tastes, are likely to receive the greatest benefits from adaptation. Other key factors which favour market programme adaptation include differences in political regulations and culture in the host market, as well as a decentralisation of authority, the autonomy of international subsidiaries and differences in the host market's development with regard to the product's consumption (Lages, Abrantes, & Lages, 2008). Palmer would have faced drastically different political and cultural conditions in the United Kingdom when compared to Trinidad.

Additionally, despite its strong link to the Trinidad Carnival, the Notting Hill Carnival operated independently and from its inception has been run by community-based organisations rather than a government agency, making the festival relatively easy to adapt.

Adaptation as opposed to standardisation is a choice that is favoured by the producers of cultural products in particular. Palmer's actions can be compared to those of cultural producers which have been described as pursuing glocalisation strategies rather than globalisation strategies. For example, global media companies have recognised that programming and modes of operations must be adapted, especially in Asian markets. These companies adapt not only their cultural product (television programming) but also their mode of business operation – they frequently use the localised strategy of operating joint ventures with local firms rather than globalised strategies of mergers and acquisitions (Pathania-Jain, 2001 and Cho & Chung, 2009) These practices are also apparent in internationalisation of other cultural products such as music, cinema, drama and other performances (Wu & Chan, 2007 and Lam, 2010).

Key to glocalisation is cooperation with local suppliers, which can involve the operation of joint ventures, employing local personnel and/or the formation of local networks or alliances. However, unlike cultural producers such as record companies, film and theatre companies, the Notting Hill Carnival has no formal management structure and no mechanism for ownership. It is managed by a committee with support from a community of carnivalists. Thus, although Palmer's adaptation, which was forged by forming a relationship with the local community of sound systems, was enormously successful, it has been relentlessly criticised. Despite their involvement with the Carnival for going on four decades, sound systems are still viewed as outsiders by the other cultural arenas within the Notting Hill Carnival. Over the years, sound systems have continually needed to argue for their legitimacy. Objections to their involvement, particularly from steel bands and masquerade bands, appear to stem from individuals applying traditional notions of authenticity to the Notting Hill

Carnival such as object authenticity (Wang, 2000), which arguably is not possible for a constantly evolving festival. It is also possible to suggest that sound systems, through their persistence and unwavering popularity have an emergent or existential authenticity. They have added an unmistakably London flavour to the festival and their evolving musical styles have become symbolic of Britain's multi-cultural journey.

8.7.1 Sound System Network Relationships

Static sound systems, like the steel bands upon joining the Notting Hill Carnival, re-made the festival and, in so doing, drastically increased the festival's attendance and also expanded the programme to include static discos and food and drink stalls. However, their relationship with other suppliers of festival inputs (e.g. steel bands, masquerade bands and calypso artists) has been extremely tenuous. Interviewees 17 and 21, veteran sound system DJs of the Notting Hill Carnival, both highlighted the hostility that other cultural arenas have towards static sound systems. This hostility was also echoed by some festival attendees who saw their inclusion as Jamaicans hijacking a Trinidadian event (Western, 1993). Sound systems have also had difficult relationships with state bodies such as the MPS and the RBKC. This relationship has improved somewhat since the formation of the BASS but BASS operates under the strict controls of the MPS and the RBKC. As interviewee 14 observed, BASS is only able to maintain its membership's participation in the Carnival by strictly enforcing the MPS's and the RBKC's rules.

BASS members, unlike the other cultural arenas at the Carnival, have not had the benefit of a funding relationship with any of the political actors involved in the event. The key relationships for BASS members have been the ones cultivated with their customers. In research studies done on the Notting Hill Carnival, music has been consistently identified as the key draw for the majority of attendees.

Some static sound systems (such as interviewees 15 and 17) have been able to leverage their crowd-pulling power into sponsorship deals. Their success at continually drawing crowds has led to their embedding in not only the Notting Hill Carnival but also at other UK Trinidad-style carnivals. Interviewees 17 and 21 both played at other UK Trinidad-style carnivals which have included static sound systems as part of their events.

Like other cultural arenas within the Notting Hill Carnival network, there have been significant outcomes for static sound systems as a result of the interactions of actors within the festival's network. Perhaps the most significant was the reduction of sound systems from 160 to 40 in 1989 and the increasing costs for security and stewarding faced by individual sound systems following the GLA's publication of its strategic review of the Notting Hill Carnival in 2004, which in both cases occurred due to the actions of focal actors (the NHCEC in the former case and the GLA in the latter). The traditional carnivalists as a group has also emerged as an actor which exerts considerable influence of the sound systems. Traditional carnivalists have repeatedly challenged the legitimacy of sound systems as an art form and its place with Carnival celebrations. As a result, sound systems have strengthened their position by forming closer ties with state actors such as the RKBC and MPS by strictly enforcing rules on their behalf and also forming an executive team to interface with the central organising body.

8.7.2 Modes of Internationalisation (Imports and Exports)

Inward internationalisation has been less important for sound systems than for masquerade bands and steel bands, as sound system expertise and components have been readily available locally. Additionally, as was the case with the DJs from the sound systems interviewed, many DJs are self-taught and quickly develop their skills, negating the need to import foreign expertise in order to grow their numbers. Notting Hill masquerade bands and steel bands in contrast exhibit behaviour typical of SMEs in developing countries, which engage in inward internationalisation to enhance their performance in their home market by acquiring foreign expertise and capital investments (Erdman, 1992). In some cases, masquerade bands and steel bands could not even establish themselves in the UK without inward internationalisation. As Little and Eichman (2000) have identified, inward internationalisation is, in some cases, a prerequisite for the establishment of the firm.

For sound systems which own their own components, such as interviewee 17's, inward internationalisation seems to be motivated by a desire to be different or stand out from other sound systems. When well-known DJ Norman brought Technics SL10s turntables to the Carnival in 1982, his decision to import sound system components appears to be driven by a desire to stand out from other sound systems, rather than necessity.

The main international business activity that sound systems engage in is exports in the form of public and private appearances overseas, as was the case for masquerade bands and steel bands. Sound systems, like other groups within the Carnival, have limited resources and, in some instances, do not even own their own sound equipment, (as was the case for interviewees 14 and 15), so an internationalisation mode which involves minimal business risk, requires low resource commitment and provides flexibility of movement (Wolff & Pett, 2000) is perhaps their most logical choice.

8.7.3 Process of Internationalisation

Like colleagues in the other arenas of the Notting Hill Carnival, appearances overseas are an important source of revenue. However, unlike masquerade bands or steel bands, sound systems do not feature in the overseas Trinidad-style carnival circuit, as sound systems do not feature as a distinct cultural arena of Trinidad-style carnivals outside of the UK. However, the process by which these firms engage with overseas markets is very similar to masquerade bands and steel bands.

Noticeably, interviewees 17's and 21's sound systems, which from inception had links to Jamaica, engaged in international activities more quickly than the sound systems of interviewees 14 and 15 whose sound systems were headed by White British DJs with no pre-existing international links, which confirms the Axeleson and Johanson (1992) assertion that a firm's existing relationships dictates its progress to internationalisation. Interviewee 17 has formed long-lasting relationships with individuals from both Jamaica and Germany, which has enabled ongoing business activities with these countries. Interviewee 21 has similar relationships in Jamaica and has formed relationships with promoters from Germany and the Netherlands.

Interviewee 15, in contrast, has built up a range of loose connections over time which has led to a series of one-off appearances in a half-dozen international destinations.

Interviewee 14's sound system has yet to go overseas and identifies itself as a London-based sound system, and is focused on the UK market.

8.8 Key Insights (Challenges and Opportunities of Internationalisation for Sound Systems)

The static sound systems belong to the most contentious arena of the Notting Hill Carnival, attracting a great deal of discussion and criticism, mainly amongst carnivalists. When sound systems are mentioned in research articles about the Notting Hill Carnival, in particular, their presence has been associated with the event's negative impacts – such as overcrowding, crime, public disorder and noise pollution (see for example Cohen, 1980 and La Rose, 2004). After the initial review of the Notting Hill Carnival was undertaken by the GLA in 1999, Batty, Desyllas, and Duxbury (2003) also published research which highlighted the problematic crowd dynamics of combining a moving parade with static sound systems. Researchers such as Gutzmore (1982, p.33), in contrast, have linked the appearance of sound systems to Black British youth's cultural resistance and warns against the viewpoint that the Carnival has in fact gone "downhill" since their inclusion. Others have suggested that the introduction of reggae music, which gave voice to the frustrations of Black British youth, in fact showed the Carnival's central organising body to be "unprepared" and "politically ill-equipped" to provide leadership to a re-emerging Black resistance movement (Pryce, 1985, p. 37).

Despite the ongoing debate about the place of sound systems at the Notting Hill Carnival, the effectiveness of Palmer's adaptation cannot be denied. On the two occasions when a survey of festival attendees was taken to determine why visitors came to the Notting Hill Carnival. The music played by the static sound systems was cited as the most important activity at the Carnival and a key motivator for attending (Tuckey, 1996 and London Development Agency, 2003). Additionally, BASS, despite the many challenges to its legitimacy at the Carnival and the rising costs which its members have to pay to participate, continues to attract new sound systems. Both interviewees 14 and 15, who both grew up in the West London area, have described playing at the Notting Hill Carnival as "a dream come true".

When compared to the other arenas of the Carnival, static sound systems appear to be businesses which are far more rooted in the United Kingdom and London as they do not depend on overseas suppliers for inputs and, notably, none of the interviewees participated in the year-round circuit of Trinidad-style carnivals that take place overseas. The interviews also revealed that they also have far less varied overseas exports.

Moreover, although the DJs at the Carnival were originally of Jamaican origin, the sound systems participating in the Notting Hill Carnival went through a very rapid localisation process. A significant number of DJs, like interviewees 14 and 15, claim London roots. This is in stark contrast with the masquerade band and steel band leaders interviewed who tended to have Brazilian or Trinidadian roots and/or see themselves as part of wider global network or family. This perhaps highlights the inconsistency of the authenticity arguments of “traditional” carnivalists, as the most local representatives of an undeniably London carnival are also seen as outsiders. Localness is often seen as a key attribute for authentic cultural products such as food, festivals, cultural and heritage tourism as “the traditional conception was of a deep rooted “sense of place”, structured through shared language and social practices, which cohered into a local identity” (Cohen, 1988: p.790). This traditional conception of authenticity is evident in the arguments that the same “traditional” carnivalists make against relocating the Carnival to another location.

The continuing presence of static sound systems at the Notting Hill Carnival provides undeniable evidence of its successful glocalisation. They also represent London’s multiculturalism and dynamism. In spite of an increasingly challenging environment, they have become the central feature of the event for many attendees.

Chapter 9 – Discussion

9.1 Overview

The four preceding chapters have explored how the Notting Hill Carnival's central organising bodies and the cultural art forms of steel band, masquerade and static sound systems have worked together to internationalise the Trinidad-style Carnival. These findings were presented as a single-embedded case study, which allowed for a number of units of analysis (Gray, 2009). The approach taken for this single-embedded case study was to analyse the actions of two types of organisations – the Notting Carnival central organising bodies and the organisations which make up the cultural arenas or disciplines which participate in the celebrations – these are, steel bands, masquerade bands and static sound systems. In keeping with the process approach (Van de Ven, 2007) described in the research methodology, a timeline of events was produced from 1964-2013 for the central organising bodies and each of the cultural arenas participating in the Notting Hill Carnival. This approach provided a variety of perspectives on how the Notting Hill Carnival was transformed from a community fayre into a Trinidad-style carnival, which is also a hallmark event for the city of London, attracting international media attention and audiences. Using the conceptual framework from chapter 2 (see Figure 2.4), the findings focused on:

1. Highlighting the role of actor-networks in transforming a community event into a Trinidad-style carnival which later went on to be an international, multi-cultural event representing London's diverse communities
2. Outlining the modes by which the cultural forms and other festival inputs of both the Trinidad Carnival and Notting Hill Carnival were internationalised
3. Determining an overall process for festival internationalisation

The case findings also highlighted the benefits of festival internationalisation for Trinidad as the country of origin for the festival, as well as for Jamaica and Brazil, two other countries which provide cultural inputs for the Notting Hill Carnival. Additionally, the findings indicated possible relationships between the international business activities of cultural organisations and their leaders' nationalities.

This chapter summarises and aggregates the findings of the case study. It identifies similarities and differences between the Notting Carnival's central organising bodies and its participating cultural organisations. It also compares and contrasts the actions of these cultural organisations to determine whether there are similarities or key differences in international business activity, amongst steel bands, masquerade bands and static sound systems. This analysis made it possible to produce a holistic view of the findings which could be related to the research objectives (phrased in sections 9.2 to 9.5 as questions) posed by the thesis. It also highlighted a number of emergent themes which, although not directly related to the research objectives, are relevant to broader issues raised within the research.

9.2 How does a festival leave its home country and become embedded in a host country?

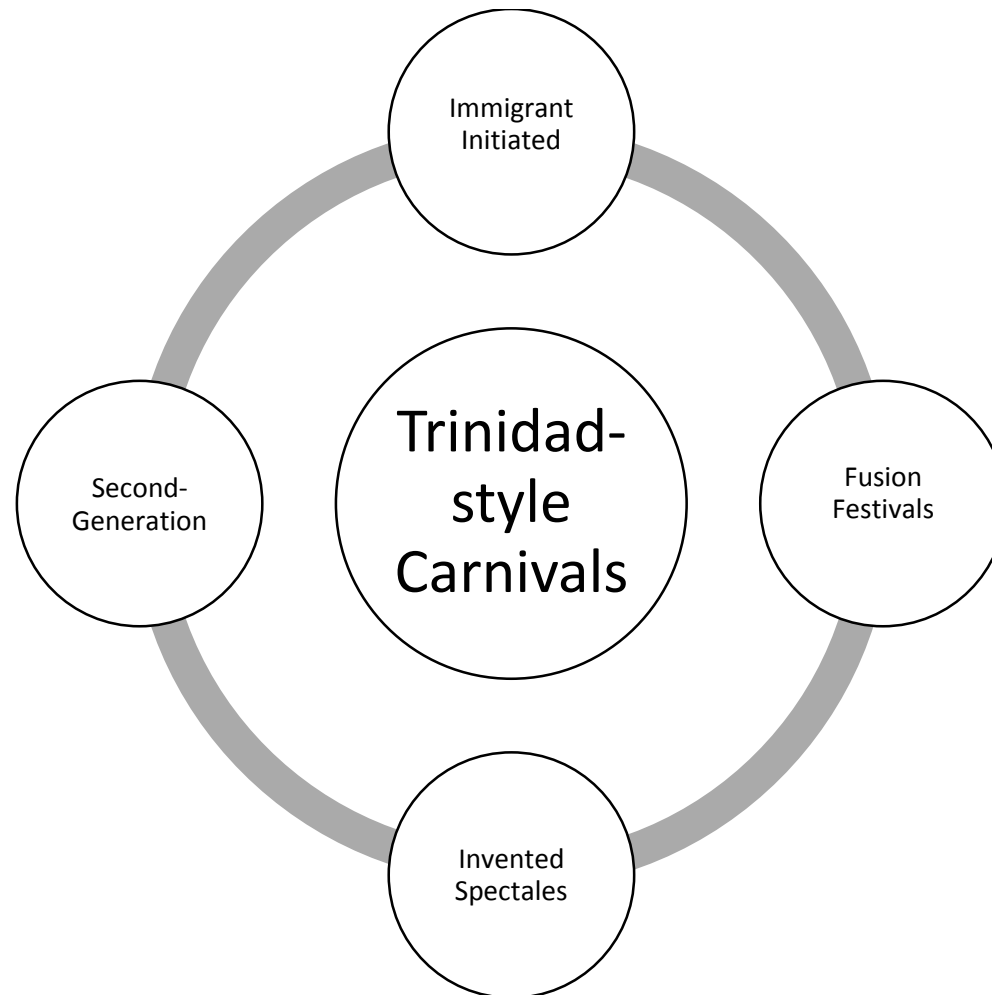
In chapter 3 of this thesis, a typology of Trinidad-style carnivals was developed revealing a number of ways in which the Trinidad Carnival left its country of origin to settle in countries overseas. Perhaps the most well-known method is the establishment of Trinidad-style carnivals by Trinidadian immigrants (often joined with other Caribbean immigrants) in their new countries of abode. In chapter 3, these celebrations are classed as "Immigrant Initiated Celebrations". Examples of "Immigrant Initiated Celebrations" Trinidad-style carnivals are New York's West Indian American Parade Day and Toronto's Scotia Caribbean Carnival (formerly Caribana).

Both archival research and interviews conducted by the researcher revealed that the Notting Hill Carnival came about as a result of Trinidadian immigrants adapting an already existing event - the Notting Hill Fayre. It has been therefore been classified as a “Fusion Festival” carnival, along with Bristol’s St. Paul’s Afrikan Caribbean Carnival because these events existed as indigenous festivals before being refashioned as Trinidad-style carnivals. The Notting Hill Carnival has since gone on to inspire the establishment of Bielefeld’s Carnival of Cultures in Germany. The latter event has been described as a “Second Generation” Trinidad-style carnival because it is based on a Trinidad-style carnival (in this case the Notting Hill Carnival) not the Trinidad Carnival itself.

The interviews also highlighted that the establishment of Trinidad-style carnivals by governments wishing to cash-in on the successful Trinidad-style carnival formula has also led to new export opportunities for the Notting Hill Carnival, especially for public appearances, training and sponsorship. Examples of these types of carnivals, classified as “Invented Spectacles”, are Nigeria’s Carnival Calabar and also Berlin’s Carnival of Cultures.

Figure 9.1

Methods by which the Trinidad Carnival Has Been Replicated Overseas



Researchers such as Nurse (1999) and Green and Scher (2007) have described the Notting Hill Carnival and other Trinidad-style carnivals in the Caribbean and in cities throughout North America and Europe as off-shoots of the Trinidad Carnival, implying a relationship akin to a parent company with multi-national subsidiaries. Although there is in fact no formal relationship between the Notting Hill Carnival and the Trinidad Carnival, interviewees from the central organising bodies and also the Carnival's cultural arenas did regard the Trinidad Carnival as the "home" or origin of the Notting Hill Carnival. This dynamic highlights some comparisons between the festival and the behaviours of multi-national firms as they become embedded in their host markets. As was seen with the Notting Hill Carnival, networks play an important role in embedding subsidiaries in their host market (Ghoshal & Bartlett, 1990; Nohria & Ghoshal, 1997 and Forsgren, Johanson, & Sharma, 2000). Political embeddedness, in particular, has had important implications for the Notting Hill Carnival as is also the case with multinational firms. Political actors have been seen to impact the network within which the festival operates through either "facilitating activities", such as providing funding and licences, or "disruptive activities" such as heavy-handed policing and restrictions (Welch & Wilkinson, 2004, p. 218).

In addition to their political linkages, the Notting Hill Carnival's central organising bodies have demonstrated considerable skill in forming relationships with suppliers (for example steel bands, masquerade bands and static sound systems), customers (such as attendees and sponsors) and collaborators (these include other festivals and festival associations) to assimilate new knowledge from their external knowledge environment. It is this learning that has allowed the continuous reframing or reinvention of the festival in ways which would be accepted by stakeholders and its continued relevance to audiences (see Table 9.1). In knowledge-based subsidiaries, the ability to leverage local relationships to acquire scientific personnel has been recognised as one of the main ways for multinationals to tap effectively into new clusters of knowledge located abroad to speed up

innovation (Lam, 2003). In the case of the Notting Hill Carnival, the learning of the central organising bodies has resulted in the acquisition of resources such as volunteers, funding and market knowledge which, in turn, fuelled festival innovation and adaptation.

Another similarity the Notting Hill Carnival as an off-shoot of the Trinidad Carnival has with multi-national subsidiaries, is the issue of “institutional duality” (Morgan & Kristensen, 2006, p. 1470). Like with employees in many multi-nationals, festival actors are pressured to conform to the expectations of their countries of origin whilst also being subjected to the transfer of practices from the host market (Morgan & Kristensen, 2006). From an international business perspective, MNE subsidiaries face both internal (within the firm network) and external (country environment) legitimacy challenges that create challenges and development opportunities (Hillman & Wan, 2005). A key challenge is that the event and its elements are subject to evaluation using standards that may be incompatible. This duality is particularly evident in the relationship between the so-called ‘traditional’ carnivalists and the static sound systems that play at the Carnival (see GLA, 2004). Many of the practitioners of steel band and masquerade see themselves as more authentic and the sound system DJs less so because they see themselves as practicing the art forms from the home of the carnival. However, if “localness” is used to judge the authenticity of the cultural organisations participating in the Notting Carnival, the static sound systems would most likely be judged to be more authentic because of the deeply rooted “sense of place” and “local identity” many of them share (Cohen, 1988, p.790). Including the static sound systems was arguably a successful and necessary adaptation to ensure the Carnival’s relevance to a London youth audience but it also opened the door to criticisms which many other Trinidad-style carnivals face which centre around cultural pollution and dilution. However, these competing pressures also enable organisations to adopt institutional strategies that are innovative relative to the organisations around them (Owens, Palmer, & Zueva-Owens, 2013). An example is the steel bands who have built political relationships in a manner that mimics Trinidadian steel bands in their home country, in contrast to the masquerade bands and static sound systems. This enabled

the steel bands to access the resources to stage an event in Hyde Park, something the masquerade bands and static sound systems were not able to do.

A key distinction that can be made from multinational firms and a festival-off shoot such as the Notting Hill Carnival is the limited role of the 'parent organisation' (in this case the Trinidad Carnival's NCC, formerly CDC) in embedding the festival in the host market. Subsidiaries are often viewed as intra-organisational and inter-organisational networks. The intra-organisational relationships in these networks would exist between the subsidiary, headquarters and other subsidiaries (Hedlund, 1986; Bartlett & Ghoshal, 1989; White & Poynter, 1990 and Doz & Prahalad, 1991), whilst the inter-organisational relationships would exist between the subsidiary and external stakeholders (especially in the host market) such as suppliers, customers, competitors, joint venture institutions or governments (Håkansson & Snehota, 1989; Ford, 1990 and Snehota, 1993). Both intra-organisational and inter-organisational relationships impact a subsidiary's embeddedness in its host market. Andersson, Björkman, and Forsgren (2005), for example, found that measures used to evaluate a subsidiary's performance used by headquarters, and the decision to use local or expatriate staff, both significantly impacted local embeddedness. Despite the insistence of some Trinidadians that Trinidad, as the country of origin of festival off-shoots such as the Notting Hill Carnival, should benefit from them financially (Green & Scher, 2007), the contribution of the NCC and its predecessor, the CDC, on the festival's embeddedness in its host market has been surprisingly limited. Other than the visit made by Leslie Palmer and his delegation, there has been no other reported contact between the central organising bodies of the Trinidad and Notting Hill Carnivals. Support from Trinidad for the Notting Hill Carnival has been facilitated by the relationships forged between UK-based cultural organisations and Trinidadian-based suppliers which have manifested tangibly into imports and exports (discussed in 9.4).

9.3 How is a Festival Adapted in the Internationalisation Process?

In chapter 5, by utilising aspects of actor-network theory, the transformation of the Notting Hill Carnival from a local community event to a Trinidad-style carnival to London's biggest festival has been shown as a process of extensive negotiation and renegotiation of the festival's framing. This process of adaptation has been described elsewhere as "reinvention" or as the various central organising bodies repeatedly rewriting or reimagining of the history of the festival's development (Younge, 2002). Extensive negotiation and renegotiation has also been observed with the embedding and adaptation of other Trinidad-style carnivals such as Toronto's Caribana (Trotman, 2005). There are also striking similarities with the Trinidad Carnival's journey from being a practice of a small group of immigrants (French-slave owners) to a celebration which reflects Trinidad's multicultural national identity (van Koningsbruggen, 1997). The Notting Hill Carnival has evolved from being a celebration of the culture of Trinidadian immigrants in the early 1970s to a London Carnival which showcases the city's ethnic diversity.

The interviews highlighted that immigrants from a range of Caribbean islands, White and Black British residents of Notting Hill and environs, and also Brazilian immigrants, all see the Notting Hill Carnival as 'their festival'. This community ownership of the festival led to its successful embedding and adaptation to its host market but also to the formation of a complex network of actors which have interacted in the festival's framing and successive reframing in its fifty-year existence. The central organising bodies, as well as the individual cultural arenas, each made distinct contributions in importing the cultural practices of the Trinidad Carnival to Notting Hill and embedding them in the host community. The festival's evolving framing has had different implications for each of these groups. Much of this dynamism has come from the unstable nature of the festival's framing and the permeable nature of its points of passage as, in contrast to previously published ANT studies (Callon,

1986a and Callon, 1986b), the festival environment has proven to be one which no one actor can emerge as indispensable or a voice of authority.

Previous research has highlighted the conflicts that arise when festivals are expanded to draw larger audiences. However, this research tends to focus on conflicts between festival organisers and participants with external groups such as audiences, developers and politicians (Quinn, 2000 and O'Callaghan & Linehan, 2007), not on conflicts that arise within the festival organisations themselves. Similarly, within international business research, the focus of studies on product adaptation is on the consumers' or host markets' reactions. With cultural or leisure-oriented products, a theme that is frequently explored is the clash of cultures that occurs when a business travels from one country to another (see for example research by Trigg and Trigg, 1995). This thesis has shown, in contrast, that within the Notting Hill Carnival, a multi-cultural festival, clashes have occurred between different groups involved in adapting the product to the host market. In the mid-1970s, clashes of culture were observed between steel bands which were comprised mainly of Trinidadian immigrants and sound systems which were dominated by Jamaican immigrants. In the contemporary period, there have also been conflicts reported between masquerade bands with Trinidadian traditions and masquerade bands with Brazilian traditions. It suggests that, over time, the organising committee has not developed mechanisms for managing intra-group negotiations. This is a critical requirement for organisations that do not have an extensive physical presence or full-time employees (Kasper-Fuehrera & Ashkanasy, 2001). While contracts exist to manage formal activities, it is not possible to anticipate all possible situations. These organisations, therefore, develop shared norms to manage areas of uncertainty that cannot be accurately determined in advance (Holland & Lockett, 1998). As the Notting Hill Carnival central organising bodies and individual cultural arenas are involved in a large event, with many areas of uncertainty, its ability to establish these norms are critical. Furthermore, the central organising bodies have had the additional challenge of meeting the requirements of a heterogeneous mix of public and private sector bodies. The latter have resources

and knowledge that exceed most private organisations, far less the loose aggregation of volunteers that comprise the various Notting Hill Carnival boards. In this context, it is difficult for such organisations to create or enforce norms, reducing the perceived value and hence the power of the central organising committees, limiting their ability to manage or resolve conflicts.

It should be noted though that this thesis is far from unique in its recognition of the contested nature of the Notting Hill Carnival and other Trinidad-style carnivals. Other researchers have also highlighted the conflicts that have occurred as a result of these events being adapted for their host communities (Jackson, 1992; Cohen, 1993; Trotman, 2005; and Burr, 2006). However, a key difference that is apparent with this study is the recognition that conflict within the Notting Hill Carnival, in addition to providing challenges to the organisers and cultural organisations, have been also beneficial, if not to the entire network then for particular groups of actors within the network. For instance, the Notting Hill Carnival in the mid-1970s faced considerable challenges when it was reframed as a Caribbean Carnival. However, there were also benefits such as the exponential growth in attendees, especially from new segments such as Black British-born youth and fans of London's fledgling punk scene. Similarly, Claire Holder's controversial departure whilst resulting in the central organising committee's loss of control and credibility, also proved beneficial for steel band organisations. As part of a London Notting Hill Carnival, they were able to use their historical political links with the GLA to acquire additional funds for a steel band Panorama in Hyde Park which was professionally produced, and money was also made available for paying players. Admittedly, this was short lived (see chapter 6 of this thesis) but for a brief time there seemed to be an upside to the confusion caused by Claire Holder's departure for steel bands. These findings echo Callon's (1986a) study in which he observes that actor-networks hold themselves together precariously and that translation is, as a process, insecure and susceptible to failure. As various actors in a network seek their own interests, disorder, or new forms of order, as has been the case with the Notting Hill Carnival, they are "only precariously kept at bay" (Law, 2008, p. 145).

9.4 How are a festival's elements internationalised?

Inward internationalisation of festival elements primarily took the form of imports from Trinidad, Jamaica, Brazil and China. See Figure 9.1. Tangible items in the form of musical instruments, which were either steel pans (mentioned by six interviewees) or Brazilian drums and other instruments from Brazilian carnival traditions (mentioned by two interviewees), were imported for use in the festival and related activities. Other tangible items were costume-related imports (mentioned by four --in interviewees), dub plates (mentioned by two interviewees) and sound equipment (mentioned by one interviewee). Services in the form of tuning and arrangements were mentioned by one interviewee. Trinidad was named as the country with the greatest range of imports to the Notting Hill Carnival by interviewees. These were musical arrangements, tuning and instruments for steel bands, and finished costumes and raw materials for masquerade bands.

Importing as a mode of internationalisation for the Notting Hill Carnival can be further sub-divided into standard product imports, in which products leave their country of origin and travel to the UK, and service imports, through the movement of natural persons, which requires service providers such as arrangers and tuners to travel to the UK to deliver their services. See Figure 9.2. Country of origin effects were apparent in the interviews of the sound system owner who imported dub plates from Jamaica and the Brazilian masquerade band leaders who imported instruments and costumes from Brazil. In the former case, the interviewee was not a Jamaican but his interview showed that Jamaica's reputation as the home of reggae influenced his decision to get dub plates from that country. In the latter case, both bands had Brazilian band leaders and sourcing costumes and instruments from the home of their respective carnival traditions was seen as important to them. For three masquerade band leaders, the need to provide employment 'back home' where the costumes

and/or instruments were being produced was seen as a significant reason to import. In one case, this was made explicit in the masquerade band's communication and advertising, similar to businesses with corporate social responsibility (CSR) policies. These typically "consist of clearly articulated and communicated policies and practices of corporations which reflect business responsibility for some of the wider societal good" (Matten & Moon, 2008, p. 405). In the other cases, the practice was not explicitly communicated as is the case with some businesses in which CSR is implicit. In these companies, practices are not communicated as CSR and are not seen either as a voluntary or deliberate decision but a reaction to, or reflection of, its environment (Matten & Moon, 2008).

Figure 9.2

Import Markets for the Notting Hill Carnival Festival Elements



KEY



Notting Hill Carnival



Trinidad Carnival destination



Caribbean T'dad-style carnival destination

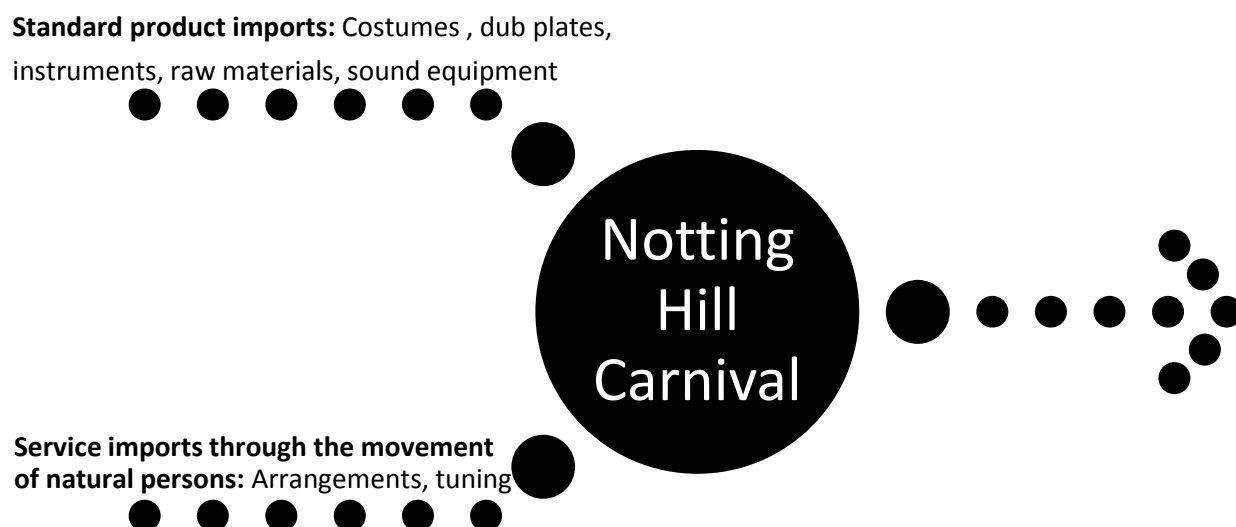


Other Carnival or festival destination

— Import activity

Figure 9.3

Import Modes for the Notting Hill Carnival



However, overall, the interviews suggested the main driver of importing behaviour was nationality and/or parentage of the head of the organisation in question. See Tables 9.2 for a list of the interviewees whose organisations displayed import behaviour - 13 out of the total 28 interviewees that participated in the research study.

With the exception of interviewees 6 and 22, all interviewees in the table imported from the country of either their own or parent's nationality. Previous research confirms that immigrants positively impact trade flows from their countries of origin because their links to their home countries allow them superior market knowledge which would mitigate against some of the costs and risks associated with imports. They also influence others to import from their home countries because they share their preferences for certain varieties of foreign products (Head & Ries, 1998 and Combes et al., 2005).

Table 9.1

Import Markets and Imports for Notting Hill Carnival Festival Elements

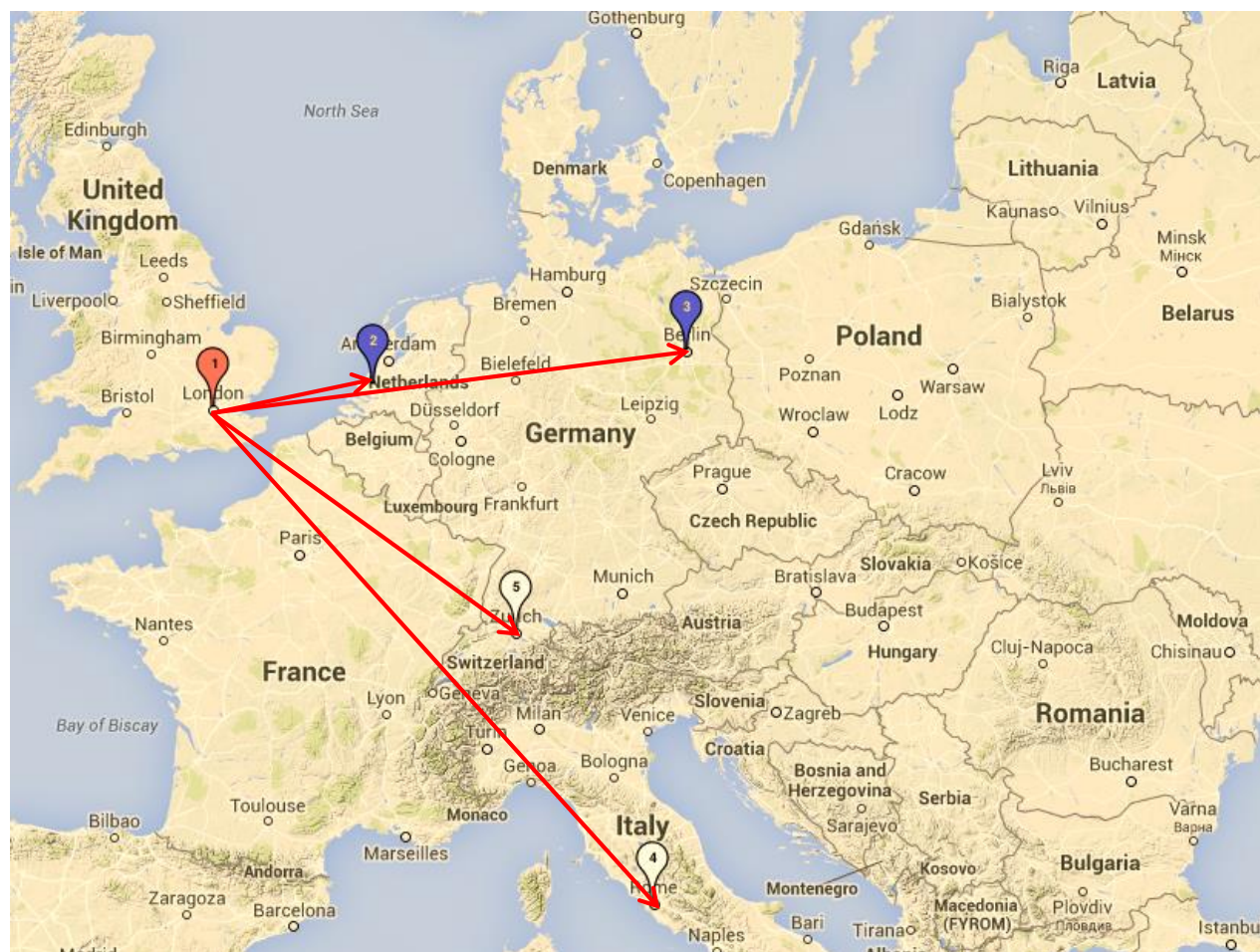
Interviewee	Organisation's Head's Nationality	Import Markets	Imports	Organisation Type
1	British	Trinidad	Raw materials	Mas' band
2	Trinidadian	Trinidad	Costumes	Mas' band
3	Brazilian	Brazil	Costumes, instruments	Mas' band
5	Brazilian	Brazil	Costumes, instruments	Mas' band
6	Trinidadian	China	Costumes (outsourced manufacturing)	Mas' band
8	Trinidadian	Trinidad, India, China and other destinations	Raw materials	Mas' band
15	British of Jamaican Parent	Jamaica	Dub plates	Sound system
9	Trinidadian	Trinidad	Instruments, tuning	Steel band
11	British of Trinidadian Parent	Trinidad, New York, Denmark	Arrangements, instruments, tuning	Steel band
12	Trinidadian	Trinidad	Instruments, tuning	Steel band
13	Trinidadian	Trinidad	Instruments	Steel band
22	British	Trinidad	Instruments	Steel band
24	Trinidadian	Trinidad	Instruments	Steel band

Chapter 6 of this thesis highlights that the UK's importing of steel pans from Trinidad has been greatly assisted by relationships that UK steel bands have with Trinidadian suppliers. Trinidadian immigrants and their offspring exploit these relationships, not only to assist in their own imports but to help other steel bands not familiar with Trinidad to import steel pans from there as well. Likewise, for the sound system leaders interviewed that imported from Jamaica (interviewees 15 and 17), their family links to the country were also seen to be crucial. For masquerade bands, market knowledge was also seen to play a role in their importing behaviour although interviewees were less explicit about their links, and nor did they mention sharing or promoting Trinidadian suppliers to other masquerade bands. This difference in import behaviour could perhaps be related to the competitive nature of these organisations, which is discussed in 9.6.2.





Outward internationalisation of festival elements are primarily to Western Europe and take the form of mainly service and experience exports. The most popular destinations were Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland, and the most common exports were public and private appearances and training. See Figure 9.3. Interviews showed Germany and the Netherlands were particularly important destinations for masquerade bands because these countries had their own Trinidad-style carnivals and Notting Hill Carnival masquerade bands are often paid to appear at these events. They also showed that Switzerland was a popular destination for steel bands which can be linked to the exploits of Sterling Betancourt who spent three years in Zurich sharing his steel pan expertise with that city.

Figure 9.4

Key Export Markets for Notting Hill Carnival Festival Elements



KEY

-  Notting Hill Carnival
-  European Trinidad-style carnival destination
-  Other Carnival or Festival destination
-  Notting Hill Carnival exports

NUMBER KEY

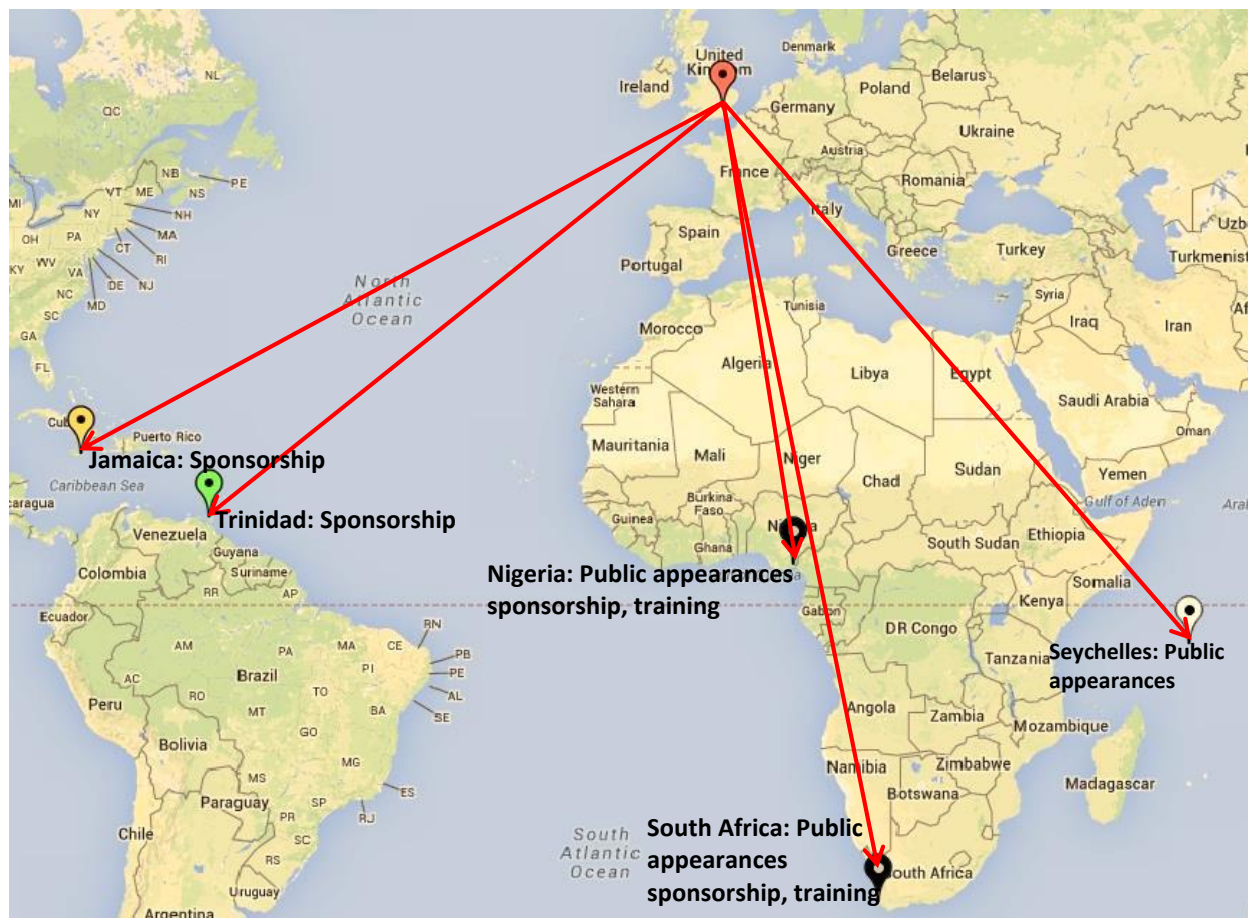
1. Notting Hill Carnival, 2. The Netherlands – exports are public and private performances and training, 3. Germany – exports are public and private performances and training, 4. Italy – exports are public and private performances, 5. Switzerland – exports are public and private performances

Within the last decade or so, the Caribbean and countries within Africa have become increasingly important, especially for training and sponsorship opportunities. See Figure 9.4. Nigeria, especially, stands out. After the highly successful launch of its Carnival Calabar in 2005, which is described as a clone of the Trinidad Carnival (Andrew & Ekpenyong, 2012), the country has become an important destination of Notting Hill Carnival steel bands and masquerade bands for public appearances and providing training workshops. Another possible reason for the increasing exports from the Notting Hill Carnival to Nigeria is the very popular Nigerian Corner or 'Naija Corner' as it is more commonly known. Naija Corner was established as a gathering of Nigerian people at the Notting Hill Carnival in 1986 and is now the longest running and largest gathering of Nigerians in the UK (Niyi, 2013). Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that Nigerian organisations are now seeking sponsorship opportunities at the Notting Hill Carnival.

Exporting as a mode of internationalisation for the Notting Hill Carnival can be further divided into standard product exports (although these were reported by very few interviewees); consumption abroad, such as when sponsors come to the Notting Hill Carnival to receive corporate hospitality and do product sales and sampling as part of their sponsorship packages or when tourists pay for costumes to participate in the Notting Hill Carnival parade; and through the movement of natural persons, which occurs when steel bands, masquerade bands and sound systems travel overseas to do appearances. See Figure 9.5.

Figure 9.5

Emerging Export Markets for Notting Hill Carnival Festival Elements

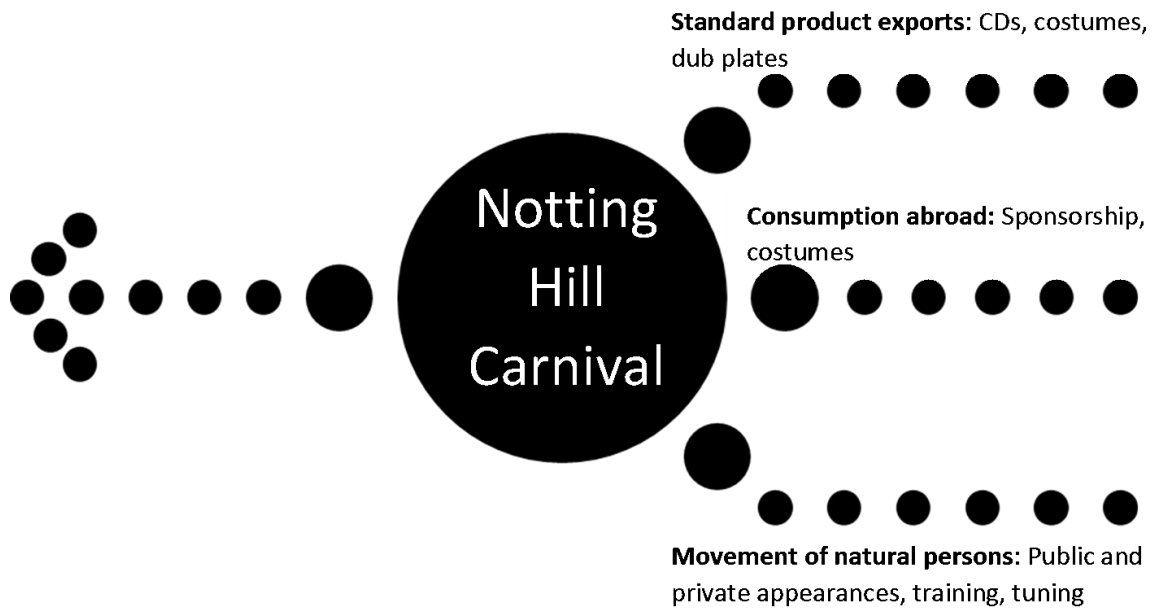


KEY

- | | |
|--|--|
|  Notting Hill Carnival |  Trinidad Carnival destination |
|  Caribbean T'dad-style carnival destination |  African T'dad-style carnival destination |
|  Other carnival or festival destination |  Notting Hill Carnival exports |

Figure 9.6

Export Modes for the Notting Hill Carnival



For masquerade bands and steel bands going abroad to make appearances at events and festivals was in most cases motivated by wanting to broaden members' cultural horizons, which is widely recognised as one of the key social impacts of festivals and events. However, in the literature, this impact is normally associated with festival attendees not participants themselves. Financial motivations were also mentioned by some interviewees. Others saw themselves almost as ambassadors of their art forms and also of the countries from which they originated.

However, as was the case with imports, interviews suggested export behaviour was strongly linked with the nationality of the head of the organisation in question. See Table 9.3. For masquerade bands and steel bands, the exporters trading with the largest number of countries were organisations which were led either by a Trinidadian or an individual born to Trinidadian parents. Amongst masquerade bands, there are three bands who have exported to three countries - the highest number of export markets reported by these organisations. Two of these bands are led by Trinidadian/ or an individual with a Trinidadian parent. The third masquerade band, which is also a steel band, was also originally led by a Trinidadian, until interviewee 7, who is of Guyanese origin, took over the leadership of the band. Amongst steel bands, the bands represented by interviewees 11, 12 and 13 exported to largest number of countries - 13, 10 and 21 respectively. These interviewees represented bands whose leader was either Trinidadian or British with a Trinidadian parent.

The findings suggest there are three types of exporting behaviours among interviewees. The masquerade band represented by interviewee 8 and the steel band represented by interviewee 9 exhibited exporting behaviour of Born Globals. For the Born Global, international market expansion is not related to geographic distance and is characterised by fast and immediate international business activity. The rise of Born Globals has been attributed to at least three important factors: new market conditions; technological developments in the areas of production, transportation and

communication; and more elaborate capabilities of people, including the founder/entrepreneur who starts the Born Global firm (Madsen & Servais, 1997). For both these organisations, all three factors seemed relevant. Recent growth of economies in countries such as China, India, Nigeria and South Africa would no doubt have created new export opportunities for these organisations. Additionally, for interviewee 9 in particular, his band's website and social media presence were cited as very valuable tools for getting bookings. Moreover, both interviewees 8 and 9 exhibited unusual skill sets which made them stand out from their peers. Interviewee 8 owned an event production company prior to starting his masquerade band and interviewee 9 was both a professional pan soloist and a trained music teacher. Both organisations also shared traits with Born Globals identified within international business research. For instance, their international business activity was aided by their networks and alliances (Freeman, Edwards & Schroder, 2006). Also, much of their organisations' knowledge and expertise has been gained from channel or network partners (Gabrielsson et al., 2008). Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis provide more specific details.

For the steel bands represented by interviewees 11, 12 and 13, exporting seemed be an evolutionary process. The overall pattern of internationalisation for these firms is very much like "rings in water" with respect to geographical markets (Madsen & Servais, 1997). These organisations started by touring nearby Western European countries before adding on destinations in Eastern Europe, Africa and the Middle East. It is quite striking that these three organisations were established much earlier than the two organisations which exhibited Born Global characteristics (established in the late 2000s). Interviewees 11, 12, and 13's organisations were established in 1980, 1969 and 1988 respectively, prior to recent developments such as increased market access to countries such as Nigeria, India and China, widespread internet access and the development of social media platforms.

Only four sound system leaders were interviewed. One had yet to pursue international activities and two had only been to two or three countries, so it is difficult to identify any pattern or patterns in the export behaviours of these organisations. The two Jamaican sound system leaders had similar patterns in their international business activity which seemed to be driven by individual personal networks, which could suggest that they were similar in this regard to the masquerade band leaders as their firms existing network links seemed to drive their international business activity, so network theories are applicable in explaining their behaviour (Alexsson & Johanson, 1992).

The sound system leader who had appeared in the most destinations was interviewee 15. He was British and of British parentage. The central organising body for the Notting Hill Carnival has only recently started engaging in international business activity, although it has had international links since the 1980s. Its international business activity took place when the organisation was led by an individual who was British with a Jamaican parent, and when it was led by someone who was British with a Trinidadian parent. With both interviewee 15 and the LNHCL, there was a time lag between the year of establishment and the export activity. Interviews suggest that in both cases international business came about eventually because of the key decision makers learning and experience in their roles. The sound system leader, for example, described the Notting Hill Carnival as an important training ground for his organisation to develop the expertise needed to participate in international festivals, whereas members of the LNHCL explained that learning from past mistakes enabled them to capitalise on international business opportunities. These behaviours suggest organisational innovation is the driver of their export behaviour which is consistent with innovation models of internationalisation (Bilkey & Tesar, 1977 and Wiedersheim-Paul, Olson, & Welch, 1978).

Table 9.2

Exports and Export Markets for Notting Hill Carnival Festival Elements

Interviewee	Organisation's Head's Nationality	Year Est.	Export Markets	Exports	Organisation Type
24	British of Jamaican Parent	2002	Jamaica, Trinidad	Sponsorship	Organising body
22, 27	British of Trinidadian Parent	2002	Switzerland	Booking management	Organising body
1	British	1983	Denmark	Public performances	Mas' band
2	Trinidadian	2001	Trinidad	Sponsorship, costumes	Mas' band
3	Brazilian	2001	The Netherlands	Public appearances	Mas' band
28	British of Other Caribbean Parent		Germany, the Netherlands	Training	Mas' band
5	Brazilian	2002	The Netherlands	Public appearances	Mas' band
6	British of Trinidadian Parent	1980	Nigeria, the Cayman Islands, Seychelles	Public appearances, training, costumes	Mas' band
8	Trinidadian	2009	Australia, China, India,	Consultancy, exhibitions, training	Mas' band
15	British of Jamaican Parent	1989	Germany	Public and private appearances	Sound system
21	Jamaican	1970	Germany, the Netherlands	Public and private appearances	Sound system
9	Trinidadian	2007	Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Nigeria, Seychelles, South Africa, Canada, Trinidad, United Arab Emirates	Public and private appearances, sponsorship, training, tuning	Steel band
11	British of Trinidadian Parent	1980	Belgium, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Malawi, Mauritius, Tanzania, Antigua, Israel, Sri Lanka, Thailand	Public and private appearances, training, merchandise	Steel band
12	Trinidadian	1969	Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, Greece, Nigeria	Public and private appearances, sponsorship, merchandise	Steel band
13	Trinidadian	1988	Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland, Albania, Azerbaijan, Croatia, Dagestan, Malta, Morocco, Trinidad, Zambia, Brazil, India, Kazakhstan, Qatar, Russia, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Yemen	Public and private appearances, training, sponsorship, merchandise	Steel band
23	Trinidadian	1996	Italy	Private appearances	Steel band
7	Other Caribbean	1964	Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland	Public and private appearances	Steel/mas' band

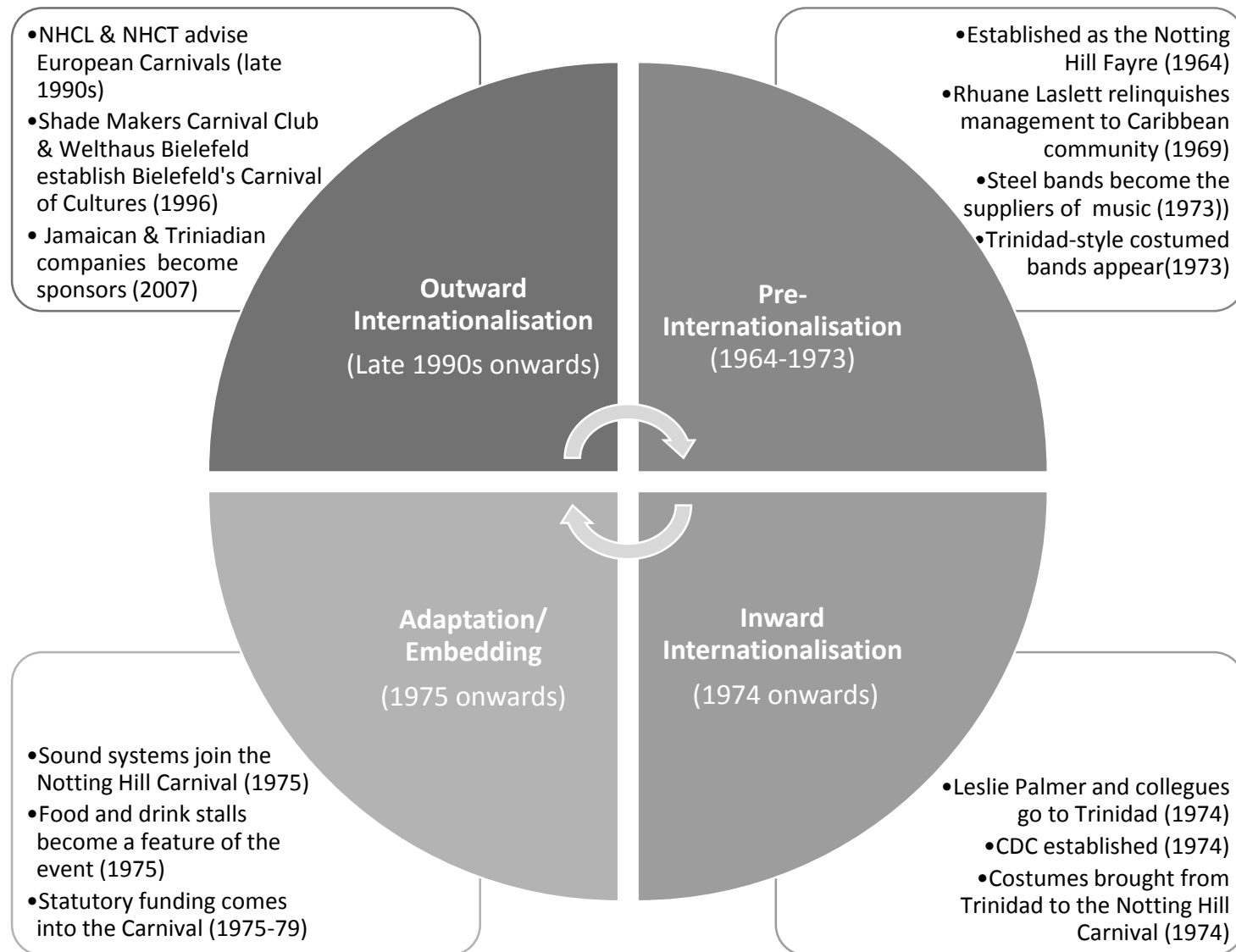
9.5 Is there a process for festival internationalisation?

The findings of this thesis have highlighted that the Notting Hill Carnival's transformation from a community fayre to an international event has been extremely complex and has come about as a result of the interactions of a number of actors. Furthermore, the internationalisation of the various festival elements have been driven by organisations which display a range of import and export behaviours. Previous researchers in tracing the development of the event have understandably highlighted the festival as an incredibly contested space (Jackson, 1992), suggesting that its growth has been the cause of a great deal of conflict, making the Carnival in some ways a victim of its own success (Burr, 2006). Media reports have also given the impression that the Notting Hill Carnival's management and organisation has been, at times, a disordered cacophony in need of containment and structure.

The process of approach taken by this study has highlighted that, out of the apparent chaos, there has been a structured process by which the Notting Hill Carnival has developed. Like with Tikkanen's (2008) article on the internationalisation of a Finnish Music Festival, findings indicate there have been a series of key developments in the Notting Hill Carnival's internationalisation. However, in contrast to Tikkanen who depicts the Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival's internationalisation as a linear and finite process with distinct stages, the findings of this thesis point to an evolution of the Notting Hill Carnival with overlapping phases which have led to its continuous reinvention and renewal. A similar process is described by Williams, Ridgman, Shi, and Ferdinand (2014), who examine the internationalisation of firms from small states. These developments are described in 9.5.1 – 9.5.4 and summarised in Figure 9.7.

Figure 9.7

Phases in the Festival Internationalisation of the Notting Hill Carnival



9.5.1 Pre-Internationalisation Phase (1964-1973)

When Rhuane Laslett, proposed her Notting Hill Fayre, she had no intention of establishing a Trinidad-style carnival in Notting Hill. She wanted to host a celebration which showcased the cultures of migrant communities resident in Notting Hill. However, her invitation to the Russ Henderson Steel Band to join the event unwittingly sparked a desire within Caribbean immigrants to create a Trinidad-style carnival and bring “a little bit of home” to the streets of Notting Hill (Gutzmore, 1982, p.32). La Rose (2004, p. 5) highlights that every year subsequent to the first celebration there were “Caribbean carnival lovers” coming forward with suggestions of how the Carnival might be improved – most likely these suggestions would have been about how it could be made more like the Trinidad Carnival. He goes on to explain that this “uneasy relationship” is what drove the Carnival’s development until 1970 when the management of the event was taken over by the Caribbean community – with Trinidadian immigrants such as Darcus Howe being especially visible (p.5). From 1970 to 1973, a number of changes took place to “Trinidadianise” the festival. For example, many more steel bands joined the event and they, together with Trinidad-style costumed bands, formed a steel band and costumed band parade. However, up until then, the organisers had not sought to import Trinidadian expertise and resources to develop the event.

9.5.2 Inward Internationalisation Phase (1974 onwards)

It was perhaps inevitable that the organisers of the Notting Hill Carnival would seek expertise from Trinidad to grow and develop the festival. In 1974, Leslie Palmer and his colleagues went to Trinidad with the intention of importing not only carnival costumes for use in the event but also the management structures of the Trinidad Carnival. In chapter 7 of this thesis, the importance of inward internationalisation for masquerade bands in particular is highlighted. Inward internationalisation was critical for the initial development of Trinidad-style masquerade bands when local expertise was

scarce, and also later on for the development of Brazilian-style masquerade bands which joined the Carnival in mid-1980s. These bands when they first appeared would have also faced challenges with access to required resources. Like many firms in emerging economies, the central organising body and masquerade bands of the Notting Hill Carnival used inward internationalisation to gain access to assets not available in their home market (Mathews, 2006). The importing of festival inputs such as costumes and steel pan and samba instruments continues into the contemporary period, driven in large part by the relationships formed between immigrant masquerade band and steel band leaders and suppliers from their countries of origin.

9.5.3 Adaptation/Embedding Phase (1975 onwards)

In 1975, the newly established CDC, led by Leslie Palmer, realised that a Trinidadian carnival had limited appeal to British-born youth and also a large majority of the Caribbean immigrant population resident in the London. The biggest single group of Caribbean immigrants were Jamaican – an island that would only establish a carnival in 1990. Palmer and the committee thus took the decision to invite sound systems to play at the event. The majority of these sound systems were led by immigrant Jamaican disc jockeys who played reggae music which was very popular with Black British youth during the mid-1970s. Palmer also invited Capital Radio, one of London's two commercial radio stations, to broadcast live from the event to encourage attendance. Attendance soared to a reported 250,000 people (Cohen, 1980) as compared with 10,000 said to have attended in 1969, just six years earlier (Younge, 2002). Moreover, the sound systems not only brought their music but they also brought aspects of Jamaica's 1950s dance hall culture to the event as well. They transformed the streets of Notting Hill into a series of open air street parties which included food and drink stalls reminiscent of Kingston's inner city dances.

This enormously successful adaptation transformed what, up until then, could have perhaps been described as a festival targeting a niche demographic of “Caribbean carnival lovers” (La Rose, 2004, p.5) to an event which resonated with the wider Caribbean population in Notting Hill and environs, Black British youth and new audiences such as London’s fledgling punk scene. In chapter 8 of this thesis there are specific details about how the reggae music played by the sound systems intersected with social and political conditions at the time to give the Carnival a militancy and resonance it did not have prior to their involvement.

Along with the dramatic growth of the festival came state funding as the event now represented more than a cultural display – it was also a political and economic tool for the advancement of the West Indian community. Statutory funding support has been shown to be critical in embedding the Notting Hill Carnival in its community and continuing support from bodies such as the ACE, the RBKC and the GLA can be partly credited with the creation of the festival’s current incarnation of a ‘London Notting Hill Carnival’.

It should be noted that although the mid-1970s was undoubtedly a turning point for the Notting Hill Carnival in terms of its adaptation to and embedding in its host community, these processes did not start, nor did they stop, in this period. Although perhaps not so widely known or discussed, in 1973 Leslie Palmer invited local rock bands to play at the Carnival in an attempt to broaden its appeal (La Rose, 2004). The Notting Hill Carnival has also continued to be adapted to reflect the realities of contemporary London. Chapter 8 has highlighted how the changing music styles of the sound systems at the Notting Hill Carnival have mirrored the multi-cultural journey of the city of London and the UK as a whole. The festival has also continued to incorporate and assimilate new immigrant groups such as Brazilians and Nigerians.

9.5.4 Outward Internationalisation Phase (late 1990s onwards)

Although interviews and archival research suggest that cultural organisations participating in the Notting Hill Carnival were engaged in export behaviour as early as the 1970s (chapter 6 details the early exploits of steel band pioneers in Switzerland, for example), findings point to an acceleration of outward internationalisation in the late 1990s. In chapter 5, interviewee 18 explains that following Notting Hill Carnival's £1 million deal with Coca-Cola in 1995, Europe "started to wake up to what was going on in Notting Hill" and that the central organising committee for the event became known as experts in the management and development of community-led carnivals. She and her colleagues were thus approached by a number of European carnival organisers for support and advice. She also added that the central organising committee's members were not the only ones who received these types of requests but that this type of activity also went on at "band level". An example of this is seen in the Notting Hill Carnival masquerade band Shademakers Carnival Club who, together with a German organisation, Welthaus Bielefeld, established the Bielefeld Carnival of Cultures in 1996, citing the Notting Hill Carnival as its source of inspiration. Moreover, with the increasing commercial success of the Notting Hill Carnival, the event became a venue for international DJs and top music acts to appear at and even launch careers. Additionally, there were also a number of new events established in the late 1990s and 2000s which have become international destinations for the cultural organisations participating in the Notting Hill Carnival, including Berlin's Carnival of Cultures (1996), the European Steel Band Festival (2000), the World Steel Band Festival (2000) and Carnival Calabar (2004).

Interviews have highlighted that the Carnival's central organising body, steel bands, masquerade bands and sound systems have engaged in a variety of new international activities after this pivotal period in the festival's history. Although it was not stated by interviewees representing the central organising bodies or any of the cultural organisations, it is reasonable to suggest that the international

sponsorship opportunities that were reported by them within the last decade came about at least partially because of pivotal events that occurred during the mid-1990s. Certainly the international training and public appearance opportunities that some masquerade band leaders have mentioned would not have existed prior to the establishment of Germany's Carnival of Cultures in Berlin and Bielefeld or Nigeria's Carnival Calabar.

The outward internationalisation of both the festival's format and also of its individual art forms seems set to continue as an increasing number of carnivals are being developed worldwide and the organisations within the Notting Hill Carnival continue to build and add to their existing networks. These developments are also supported by global trends. Within the last decade, there has been unprecedented levels of investment in events, particularly in developing what are described as "peripheral" countries (Pillay & Bass, 2008, p. 337). Already the Notting Hill Carnival's festival organisations have worked in countries throughout Eastern Europe, the United Arab Emirates and China.

9.6 Emergent Themes

9.6.1 The Notting Hill Carnival as a Contributor to Cultural and Business Tourism

This thesis sought to examine the broader range of international business activities that organisations within the Notting Hill Carnival participated in and so did not focus on the tourism generated by the event as is the case with a great deal of research studies which examine the economic aspects of festivals and focus on attendees rather than the event organisations. However, both the inward and outward movement of festival elements has highlighted that the Notting Hill Carnival is a driver of two high value, sometimes overlapping, tourism segments - cultural and business tourists. As was previously stated, cultural tourists have been found to be particularly

profitable for destinations because they tend to be high-income, well-educated and will spend several nights in one location (Smith, 2003). The promotion of cultural tourism was evident amongst steel bands, masquerade bands and sound systems. A number of interviewees mentioned that there were regular visitors who came to the Notting Hill Carnival to perform with their steel bands and appear as guest disc jockeys with their sound systems. These tourists were not paid and participated in these activities as a form of serious leisure (Stebbins, 1982). This type of activity was also found amongst masquerade bands and steel bands who appeared at carnivals in Europe and other destinations such as Trinidad, Brazil and Seychelles. Individual members of the masquerade bands and steel bands in many cases would not be paid for their appearances and would contribute to the costs of the travel.

Another form of cultural tourism that was mentioned were trips abroad specifically undertaken to broaden the cultural experiences of young people. Steel band leaders working with young people, in particular, saw international touring as a way of raising aspirations and building social capital by improving or enhancing their education and life skills. This area has been overlooked in the international business literature. While research has examined the careers of staff in international businesses (Mayerhofer, Hartmann, & Herbert, 2004), the potential of internationalisation to provide career development to volunteers has not been explored.

For a few of the older interviewees who had spent most of their working lives participating in the Notting Hill Carnival and appearing at other carnivals and festivals, travel with the intention of attending carnival-related conferences, meeting with colleagues within the Trinidad-style carnival circuit and visiting festivals to conduct market research were frequent activities. These activities can be described as business tourism which includes a range of activities of individuals travelling to and staying in places outside their normal environment for business purposes (WTO, 1992 cited in

Wootton & Stevens, 1995) but typically to attend business meetings, incentive events, conferences and exhibitions (Hankinson, 2005). Business tourists are also a particularly desirable tourist segment because they typically spend more than regular holiday tourists and are also a major source of demand for hotel accommodation (Wootton & Stevens, 1995).

9.6.2 Negotiating Authenticity in the Experience Economy and the Creative Industries

As has been the case with other community festivals which have been developed for the benefit of outsiders, such as tourist audiences, government agencies and sponsors, the negotiation of authenticity has been a key issue for the central organising bodies and the cultural organisations involved in the Notting Hill Carnival. For the central organising bodies, two distinct approaches to negotiating the issue of authenticity seemed to have emerged. One approach takes the view that commercialisation of the Carnival, by courting sponsors or engaging in activities such as the selling of stalls and broadcast rights, is potentially harmful and can lead to the authentic aspects of the festival being negated and cultural organisations being exploited. Central organising bodies, such as the CAC, have therefore been cautious and somewhat reluctant in approaching commercial activity. This approach is validated by recent research which suggests that in order for community festivals to maintain their authenticity, the participation of outsiders should be limited (Zammit, 2015). Conversely, there is an approach that takes the view that commercialisation of the Notting Hill Carnival can be a source of empowerment by allowing cultural organisations to have access to additional resources. Moreover, by capitalising on the growing popularity of experiential marketing trends and aligning the event with well-known brands such as Coca-Cola and Virgin, cultural organisations will feel a sense of pride because these associations provide proof that the cultural products they produce have value. Like Cole (2007), some central organising bodies have argued

that the placing of an economic value on the Carnival can be a way of making cultural organisations place a higher value on what they produce, thereby enhancing authenticity.

For the participating cultural organisations, the issue of authenticity is far more nuanced and its negotiation depends on a number of factors, including the art form that is produced, the nationalities of the individuals involved and their particular aims and objectives. For some masquerade band and sound system leaders, being involved in the making/building process by making costumes in the former case and by buying and assembling sound system equipment in the latter, was seen as essential to being authentic. For sound systems, the nationality of the sound system leader appeared to have some influence on how they negotiated the issue of authenticity. The sound system leaders who were of Jamaican descent or origin were the ones which placed a value on owning and assembling their own sound system components. British sound system leaders of British parentage did not.

Sound systems have also had a particularly difficult time establishing their authenticity and legitimacy in comparison to the other cultural organisations within the Notting Hill Carnival. For these organisations, the support of the attendees and the establishment of an umbrella organisation to argue the merits of their contribution to the overall Carnival experience have been important tools in negotiating the issue of authenticity.

For steel band leaders, the making of their own instruments was not a determinant of authenticity, nor was authenticity identified as a particular issue for negotiation for steel bands. However, amongst carnival goers, the issue of some types of music being more authentic than others has been raised. Steel pan music has been seen as more authentic than the electronic music played by the sound systems. This belief seems to be linked to traditional conceptions of authenticity, such as

MacCannell's (1976) view of the authentic being that which was natural and not modern or that of an 'object authenticity' (Wang, 2000) which has to do with conformance to an original.

Differences in approaches to negotiating the issue of authenticity amongst masquerade bands have been shown to be linked to the diversity of their organisational objectives. Profit-driven masquerade bands focus on attracting customers and carving out distinctive market positions. This has led to an emphasis on creating memorable experiences rather than focusing on physical products in order to stand out in an increasingly experience-driven economy (Pine and Gilmore, 2011). For these bands, the question of authenticity is not relevant or is unrelated to the maintaining of traditional costume-making practices. However, for the majority of band leaders, profit was not the primary objective of their band. Rather than being customer-focused, these bands focused primarily on achieving artistic or community objectives which would be important for sustaining their funding relationships with key statutory bodies such as the ACE. For these bands, making costumes in the traditional way, displaying superior design capability and/or quality and adhering to an established format or tradition were all ways in which authenticity could be demonstrated and negotiated as part of the creative industries.

Much like the concept of authenticity itself, there is no consensus on what is an authentic masquerade band, steel band or sound system. For the Notting Hill Carnival, the issues surrounding authenticity, coupled with the commercial versus culture/art debate, are ongoing sources of tension and conflict which will be negotiated and renegotiated by the central organising bodies, cultural organisations, carnival goers and other stakeholders as the festival evolves.

9.6.3 The Notting Hill Carnival's Competitive Business Environment

Interviewees highlighted that the Notting Hill Carnival business environment is an extraordinarily competitive one as there is competition for funding within and across the diverse range of organisations involved in the festival. See Figure 9.8. The central organising body and the organisations which represent the cultural arenas within the carnival are all competing against each other for title and other major forms sponsorship. Interviewee 24 in chapter 5 highlighted the problematic situation created by individuals who were heads of their respective cultural arenas and also serving as directors of the LNHCL. Often these individuals would seek to divert sponsorship opportunities to their own cultural arena away from the LNHCL. Interviewee 10 in chapter 6 also highlighted the problem of the organisations representing the cultural arenas competing with their own members for funding. These findings highlight that, in the eyes of many sponsors and funding agencies, the hundreds of organisations that are part of the Notting Hill Carnival are essentially what are described by Porter (2008) as substitutes, providing a wide range of alternative opportunities for investing their marketing or project funding budgets. This is counter to the traditional view that experience/cultural goods are highly differentiated due to their symbolic value. The inability of the central organising bodies to create and enforce rules means that sponsors are able to negotiate with participating organisations directly and create individual arrangements which negates the value of becoming a title sponsor or investing in the Carnival as an entity.

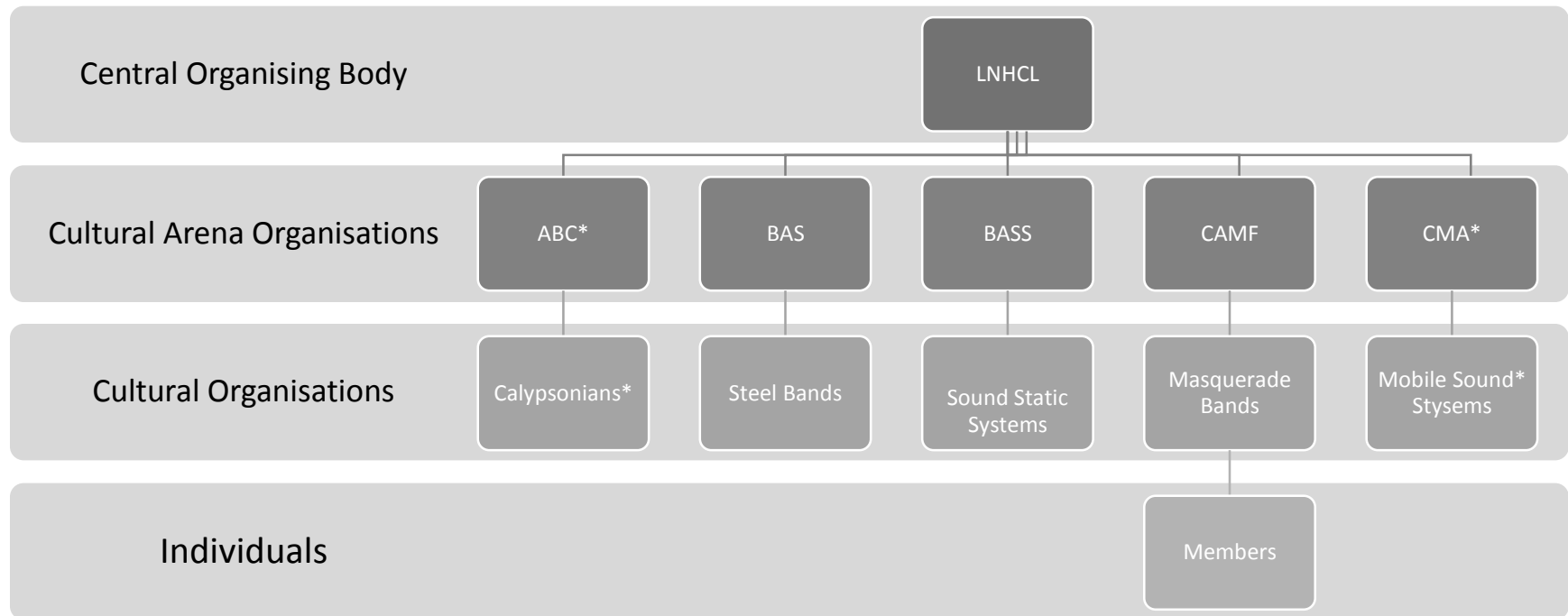
Additionally, interviewees 4 and 8 also spoke of the frequent occurrence of masquerade bands splintering when former members or employees leave to form their own bands. Interviewee 2 also explained that these individuals would sometimes resort to “raffing” (taking) customers away from their former bands. This was especially likely when costume sales to members form a major part of the band's revenue.

All the competitive forces mentioned would be in addition to the competition the Carnival already faces as part of the UK's festival industry which, following the 2008/9 financial crisis and election of the coalition government in 2010, has become that much more challenging. Public and also private sources of funding are in ever-increasing short supply and in recent years a number of UK festivals have been cancelled due to a lack of funds.

A strategy that some of the cultural organisations participating in the Notting Hill Carnival have utilised to combat the competitiveness of the UK funding environment is seeking out international funding opportunities abroad. However, as was highlighted by interviewee 22, there can also be international competition from festival organisations from other Trinidad-style carnivals which may be able to undercut their UK-based counterparts due to their favourable currency exchange rates and lower labour costs. This situation seems to be leading down a path of potentially destructive hypercompetition (Porter, 1998) which will ultimately weaken the entire Trinidad-style carnival network.

Figure 9.8

Levels of Intra-Organisational Competition in the Notting Hill Carnival



* Not included in study.

9.6.4 Issues with Volunteerism and the Notting Hill Carnival

Volunteers are described as the “life blood of many events” (Goldblatt, 2002, p. 110), as the vast majority of them, whether large or small, are volunteer-driven (Goldblatt, 2002 and Wanklin, 2005). The Notting Hill Carnival is no exception. However, although the participation of volunteers has brought immeasurable benefits to the event as a source of often highly skilled, unpaid and experienced labour, their involvement has not been without drawbacks. Newcomers to the central organising bodies, such as interviewees 22, 24 and 27, have found working with an established volunteer board of directors almost impossible. As was observed by Hagan (2008), it can be very difficult to assert authority when volunteers feel that their experience and expertise confer autonomy. Interviewee 27 related an incident in which the new Chairman of LNHCL had dismissed board members with a long history of working with the Notting Hill Carnival and they refused to stand down initially. It was only after they were asked to leave in a public meeting of Notting Hill Carnival organisations that they are agreed to vacate their positions.

Like with other volunteers, interviewees observed that volunteering was an important part of some LNHCL board members’ self-identity (Jones, 2006) and that the longer they continued the activity, the greater their commitment to the organisation (Grube & Piliavin, 2000). On the other hand, this deep connection to the role also had the effect of some individuals (particularly those representing cultural arenas) seeking recognition and status which could be manifested in aggressive behaviour at planning meetings rendering them counterproductive and distressing to many attendees. Some LNHCL board members also felt entitled to use their board membership to attain personal benefits. Brunell, Tumblin, and Buelow (2014) have found that volunteers who felt a sense of entitlement are more likely to volunteer for personal gain.

It has been argued that there is a greater sense of freedom in volunteering than in paid employment because it is an act of free will or choice, and that this greater independence leads to “less volunteer subordination to the system of organisational behaviour” (Pearce, 1993, p. 128). However, interviewees who served as volunteers on the LNHCL board, in particular, expressed feelings of frustration and subordination due to the restrictions of statutory bodies. Moreover, because the work of the LNHCL and the various cultural arenas is done through volunteers, interviewees highlighted that the heads of these organisations never really feel in control and have to spend a great deal of time persuading fellow volunteers to take specific actions. These situations arguably, to some extent, create just as oppressive or more oppressive forms of subordination than those experienced by traditional employees. Interviewee 22 described the committee as being conveniently used as “scape-goats” by the state whilst having no actual authority. In an interview with the Guardian, former volunteer board member Ancil Barclay expressed similar views describing the existing situation as “dysfunctional to the core” which could only be rectified if the Carnival received official support (Spark, 2011).

Chapter 10 – Conclusion

10.1 Overview

The purpose of this research study was to provide a view of international festivals that addresses their contemporary position in the global economy. This aim has been achieved. This thesis has shown festival organisations, like other firms within the cultural industries, are by their nature interconnected (Scott, 2000 and Scott, 2004) and combine “global, large-scale and local, small-scale cultural enterprises” as part of their productive cycles (Mommars, 2004, p. 509). Like other international businesses, festival organisations are involved in import and export activities which require the management of complex supply chains and, in the case of Diaspora festivals, the balancing of the dual pressures of satisfying home and host market requirements.

The thesis has also sought to address a current gap in the literature by exploring the international business carried out by festivals. It has addressed this gap and also advanced the work previously done by others researchers such as Tikkanen (2008) by asking new questions, which examine the behaviours of individual festival organisations and the modes by which an entire festival's programme and/or its art forms can be exported. Its objectives were to:

1. To determine how a festival leaves its home country and becomes embedded in a host country
2. To understand how a festival is adapted in the internationalisation process
3. To analyse the ways in which a festival's elements are internationalised
4. To develop a process to describe festival internationalisation

In addressing these objectives the thesis made a significant contribution to knowledge by broadening the current understanding of international festivals, adding to international business research theory and also applying new methodological approaches. Limitations were also encountered in terms of the methodology and findings, which suggested avenues for further research. This thesis has important implications for the Notting Hill Carnival, other Trinidad-style carnivals, Diaspora festivals and international festivals generally. A summary of its key findings, contributions, implications and limitations are detailed in sections 10.2-10.5. In section 10.6, recommendations for further research are put forward.

10.2 Key Findings

This thesis sought to determine firstly how a festival leaves its home country and becomes embedded in a host market. Research findings have revealed three ways in which a festival programme can be exported. A festival can be initiated by a Diaspora population in their new country of abode, added on to a pre-existing local festival or developed by governments and enthusiasts with the help of experts from the country from which the festival originated. Findings have also revealed that a festival off-shoot need not necessarily originate from the home market of the festival. The Notting Hill Carnival has the distinction of being the only Trinidad-style carnival outside of the Caribbean to be the source of a festival off-shoot outside its host market. Notting Hill Carnival band Shademakers, along with a government agency, developed the Bielefeld Carnival of Cultures in Germany, which cites both the Notting Hill Carnival and Trinidad Carnival as sources of inspiration. Additionally, the research has shown that to successfully embed a festival in a new host market, a festival has to be constantly reframed to keep pace with changing political, socio-cultural, economic and technological conditions. In this thesis, this successive reframing has been described using Callon and Latour's (1981) concept of translation, a precarious process in which disorder and/or new forms of order are only just kept at bay.

Secondly, the thesis sought to understand how a festival is adapted in the internationalisation process. The research has shown that there are two ways in which a festival is adapted after internationalisation:

1. Adaptation of the imported cultural art forms to local policy and market conditions, which was evidenced in this thesis by both masquerade bands and steel bands fashioning year-round educational products aimed at young people to capitalise on various UK funding opportunities.
2. Addition of new cultural forms to broaden appeal. In the case of the Notting Hill Carnival, this was achieved by the inclusion of static sound systems, which also introduced open air street parties and market stalls selling food and drink as new festival programme elements.

Thirdly, the thesis sought to analyse the ways in which a festival's elements are internationalised. The research has shown that imports and exports are the means by which this is achieved. The research has also found that the import behaviour of festival organisations is strongly linked to the nationality of the head of the importing organisation, which confirms previous research highlighting the role of immigrants in positively impacting trade flows from their countries of origin (Head & Ries, 1998 and Combes et al., 2005).

Finally, the thesis sought to develop a process to describe festival internationalisation. Findings have revealed that for the Notting Hill Carnival, internationalisation has been a process which can be described as a series of overlapping phases which have been identified as pre-internationalisation,

inward internationalisation, adaptation/embedding and outward internationalisation. This finding contrasts with Tikkanen's (2008) research which described festival internationalisation as a series of distinct lifecycle-type stages, starting with a festival being a local festival and then becoming a mature international festival.

Findings have also highlighted four key emergent themes. Firstly, the Notting Hill Carnival's potential as a driver of high value overlapping tourism segments - cultural tourists, consumers of serious leisure and business tourists. Secondly, they have shown that there is no consensus on the concept of authenticity as it applies to the Notting Hill Carnival and its cultural art forms. Views on the meaning of the concept and its continuing relevance in an increasingly experience-driven society differ tremendously amongst the various central organising bodies responsible for staging the event, the participating cultural organisations and attendees. Thirdly, the findings have also underlined the competitive nature of the festival environment. The Notting Hill Carnival's overall coordinating body, the cultural arena organisations and the individual cultural organisations and individuals within the cultural organisations are all in competition with each other for funding. This competition also takes place internationally. Finally, the thesis has raised questions about the sustainability and ethics of using volunteer labour to manage and coordinate an international event which involves substantial financial and legal responsibilities, as it is extremely difficult to enforce performance standards and hold staff accountable with an entirely unpaid workforce.

10.3 Contribution to Knowledge

This thesis has served to broaden the current understanding of international festivals. It has highlighted a number of challenges and also opportunities given the complexity of international festival networks. It has demonstrated that the international festival's business operations extend far

beyond international attendees, participants and sponsors to include its entire supply chain, and it can involve multiple modes and directions of international business activity. The combination of actor-network theory and the use of a process approach in the research methodology has given new insights into how festivals develop and evolve overtime. The research suggests that festivals are constantly negotiated spaces which may appear to be chaotic at any one point but, over time, the interaction of festival organisations can form an effective system by which an event can be reinvented and reinterpreted. The study has also provided new insights into the internationalisation of Diaspora festivals in particular, which can potentially form the basis of comparative research, distinguishing these types of festivals from others. Specific details on the thesis' contribution to knowledge are further elaborated upon in 10.3.1-10.3.5.

10.3.1 Options for Festival Internationalisation

Perhaps the key contribution that this thesis has made is that it has uncovered a range of options for festival internationalisation which go far beyond attracting international attendees and participants to the destination in which the event is hosted. See Figure 10.1. Festival organisations looking to expand their events through internationalisation can learn from the experience of the Trinidad Carnival and utilise the modes by which Trinidad-style carnivals have developed overseas. In the case of the Trinidad Carnival, the expansion overseas did not happen as part of any central strategy deployed by the event's central organising body. In fact, in the case of the Notting Hill Carnival, the role of Trinidad's CDC and NCC has been quite minimal, but festival organisations can consider these modes as alternative growth strategies when the involvement of increasing audience numbers is not a viable or desirable route to further expansion (for example, when festivals which have reached or are over capacity in terms of attendance or festivals located in destinations with limited

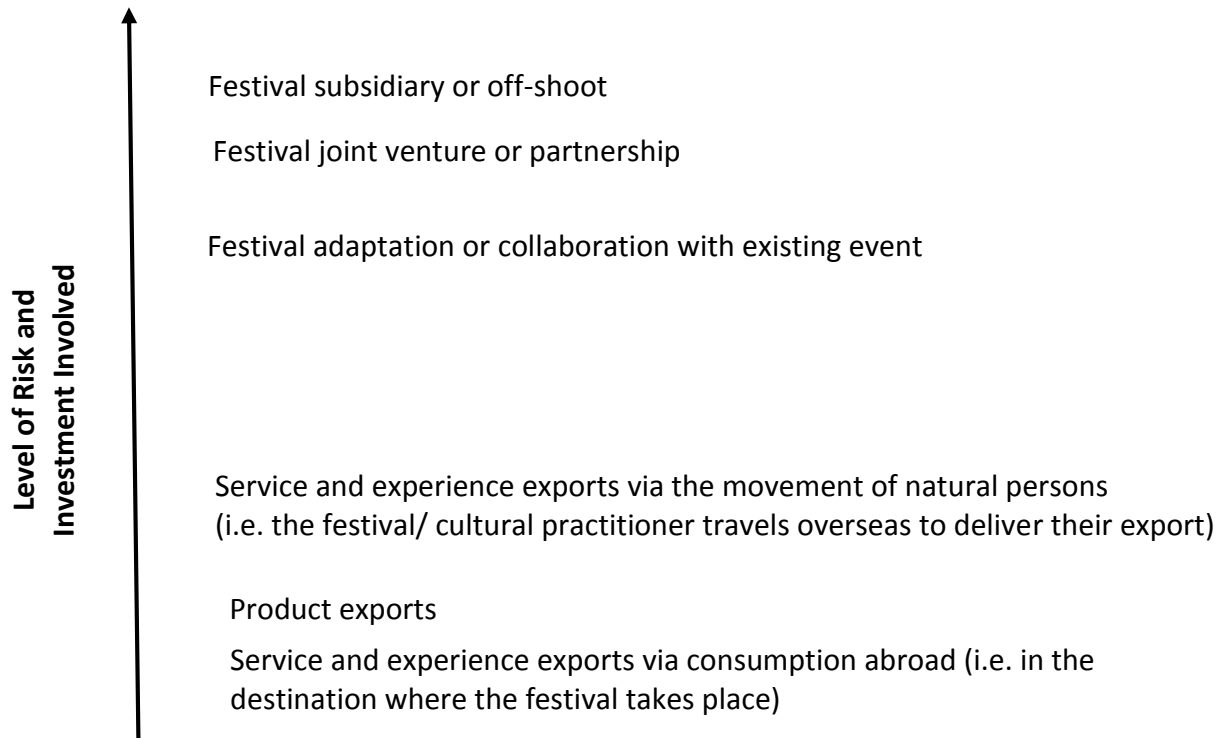
capacity to accommodate tourists). Festival organisations can internationalise their entire festival programme by:

1. Establishing a subsidiary with the help of resident Diaspora in the overseas market
2. Adding their festival programme to an existing event through collaboration in the overseas market, as was the case with the Notting Hill Carnival
3. Establishing a subsidiary through a joint venture in partnership with a government body which may be seeking to add to the festival programme of a particular destination. This was the case for the Bielefeld Carnival of Cultures which was described in this thesis as a “second-generation” Trinidad-style carnival due to it being established partially by a Notting Hill Carnival masquerade band.

Additionally, the thesis has also shown that for those festivals not wishing to replicate their festival programme overseas, there are a number of routes other than tourism into international business activity. Organisations which supply cultural products for use at festivals (such as indigenous handicrafts, musical instruments, clothing and textiles) can export to markets overseas by forming relationships with members of their country's Diaspora. These individuals can be potential buyers for these products or they can encourage individuals in the overseas market to buy them. Cultural organisations can also export experience and service goods (for example, public performances and training) by their personnel traveling overseas to deliver these goods to customers. This export mode was identified in this thesis as exporting through the movement of natural persons and as defined by GATS (1995) cited in Doole & Lowe (2012).

Figure 10.1

Festival Internationalisation Options



10.3.2 Actors in the Festival Internationalisation and Embedding Process

This thesis has also identified public agencies (which included local authorities and funding agencies), customers (which included both attendees and sponsors) and suppliers (which included festival organisations led by both local and immigrant leaders) as the key actors in the festival internationalisation and embedding process. As is the case with multi-national firms, these actors are important for providing legitimacy, resources, upgrading internal capabilities and driving innovation for festivals.

Figure 10.2

Actors in the Festival Internationalisation and the Embedding Process



10.3.3 The Potential of International Festivals as Global Market Places

This thesis has highlighted the potential of Diaspora festivals, in particular, to be drivers of international business as they are the product of immigrant populations. Previous research has demonstrated immigrant populations have positively impacted international trade for countries in which they have settled (Head & Reis, 1998 and Combes et al., 2005). Admittedly, further investigation is needed but interviews have suggested that the Notting Hill Carnival, although temporary in both space and time, as a gathering place for immigrant groups, has been central to the establishment of a host of cultural organisations and a driver of the demand for cultural imports.

This highlights the festival as a valuable export marketing tool. Whereas there is research which explores the potential of festivals as drivers of investment and business opportunities (Mooney, 2004 and Shaw, 2012), there is not yet a specific exploration into their potential as a generator of import/export activities.

10.3.4 The Potential of International Festivals to Promote Serious Leisure and Business Tourism

The research has also highlighted two key tourism segments that are attracted to international festivals, previously not highlighted within the festival tourism literature. Whereas international festivals are known for attracting cultural tourists, this study has highlighted two specific groups not usually associated with international festivals - those which travel to Trinidad-style carnivals to pursue serious leisure and to engage in business activities.

10.3.5 The Potential of Actor-Network Theory to Enhance International Festival Research

This thesis also provides a methodological advancement in international festival research in its application of aspects of ANT. Using Callon's and Latour's (1981) translation concept has allowed the complex processes of embedding and adaptation of a Diaspora festival in its host market to be explored. The growth and development of festivals from community events to international tourism attractions can often be viewed through the narrow lens of commodification (Greenwood, 1977; Van den Berghe & Keyes, 1984; Boorstin, 1991; Bruner, 1991 and MacCannell, 1999) or in terms of the conflicting interests of the local community, festival organisers, festival participants and commercial investors (Quinn, 2000; O'Callaghan & Linehan, 2007). By viewing the evolution of the Notting Hill Carnival as the interactions of actors and objects which collectively remake and reinvent the festival

in ways which can be advantageous to some actors and disadvantageous to others, the dynamism that comes out of the contested nature of community events is revealed. With Trinidad-style carnivals in particular, there can be a tendency to view their development as a chaotic bacchanal which comes out of their peculiar politics (Austin, 1978; Jackson, 1988 and Trotman, 2005), especially when they are examined at a single point in time. This thesis has shown that by applying ANT's concept of translation, and combining it with a process approach to research, a path of development can be untangled from the often tumultuous histories of community festivals.

10.4 Implications

The thesis highlights a number of entrepreneurial opportunities for festival organisations, prospective sponsoring firms, tourism organisations and tour operators that result when a festival has been successfully internationalised. It also provides some helpful signposts for festivals considering internationalisation options. Additionally, it also suggests new strategic options for stakeholders such as national festival agencies, policy makers, funding agencies and local authorities involved in festival management. These are discussed in sections 10.4.1-10.4.3.

10.4.1 Entrepreneurial Opportunities for Existing International Festivals

For festival organisations managing a large, successful internationalised festival, this thesis has demonstrated that there are opportunities to broaden their marketing efforts to attract foreign sponsors seeking international market entry. Like local sponsors, foreign organisations can be sold services such as advertising, branding opportunities, product sampling and corporate hospitality via the consumption abroad mode as defined by GATS (1995). Among the specific market segments that should be targeted are foreign trade organisations and government agencies seeking to build

relationships with their Diasporas which are resident in a festival's host market, and foreign producers of goods and services which specifically target these individuals as well.

Tourism organisations and tour operators can partner with festival organisations or vice versa to develop specific tourism products targeting the niche, high value overlapping tourism segments that are attracted to international festivals, namely cultural tourists, pursuers of serious leisure and business tourists. Among the likely products that could be developed are tourism trails devoted to exploring the history of the festival's art forms, websites and/or mobile software applications dedicated to linking festival organisations with individuals seeking international festival volunteer positions, and international conferences and exhibitions dedicated to the discussion and showcasing of the business opportunities provided by international festivals.

10.4.2 Guidance for Festivals in the Process of Internationalisation

For festivals contemplating internationalisation or who are in the process of internationalisation, this thesis highlights a number of options ranging from the low risk, low investment option of selling service and experience goods to foreign customers in their home market, to high risk, high investment options such as establishing festival off-shoots such as joint ventures or stand-alone events. For festival organisations that wish to set up off-shoots in overseas markets, individuals who belong to the Diaspora of a festival's home market will be important stakeholders, as they will not only be attendees, but also suppliers of festival inputs and potential managers and organisers. Public sector and private sector organisations will also be crucial as they provide important financial investment and proof of a festival's legitimacy and mainstream acceptance in its home market. However, the experience of the Notting Hill Carnival has shown the importance of establishing systems or rules for engaging various actors in a festival's network because, otherwise, the festival organisers might find their festival developing unexpected and even undesirable ways.

10.4.3 Strategies for Organisations Supporting International Festivals

The focus of policy makers in supporting festival organisers in the Notting Hill Carnival have, over the years, focused on supporting the event with a view to maximising its social benefits (for example, its provision of music education in London schools, and the engaging of young people in masquerade making and the performance of street art), and also minimising its negative social and environmental impacts on its host community. The main recommendations that have been advancing this agenda is for the organisers to strengthen their managerial and organisational capabilities to better account for public funding spent and to comply with health and safety regulations. Additionally, as is the case with other international festivals, its wider economic impacts have been used to justify providing the financial resources to realise their other non-financial benefits.

However, this thesis has shown that for international festivals like the Notting Hill Carnival, there may be a case for providing public support or investment to the firms which participate in the Notting Hill Carnival because of the potential for generating cultural exports. The cultural organisations participating in the Notting Hill Carnival are not only cultural ambassadors of the imported art forms from the Trinidad Carnival but also of the new hybrid cultural products that they were used to create in the United Kingdom. The steel pan instrument was repurposed as a means of providing affordable music education in London schools, whereas the art of masquerade has been developed as a vehicle for arts and craft education. UK steel bands and masquerade bands are, as a result, in demand throughout Europe and in other countries such as Nigeria and China to deliver workshops to organisations interested in developing music and arts and craft education programmes of their own. The central organising body also has the potential to use the festival as an international exhibition space showcasing British and international products and services to an audience of over 1 million people over two days. Funding for such initiatives can come from a wider range of public sector

agencies than are currently involved in the Carnival, such as those attached to the Department of Business and Innovation Skills and the Department of International Development.

The international reach of the Notting Hill Carnival and other festivals which have an international remit means that sponsors investing these events have a unique opportunity to yield sponsorship benefits in the festival's home market as well as markets overseas which the sponsor may be interested in targeting. Sponsors of international festivals may therefore wish to design sponsorship contracts which include brand exposure, product sampling and corporate hospitality opportunities within multiple territories to maximise their return on investment.

10.5 Limitations

For this thesis, as is the case with other types of case study and other qualitative research, generalisation is not possible. The Notting Hill Carnival is a unique festival and although sharing characteristics with other Diaspora festivals and other international festivals, it is not possible to generalise its findings compared to other Diaspora festivals, international festivals or even other Trinidad-style carnivals without further research. Thus, this thesis can only be seen as a first step towards building a generalisable theory of festival internationalisation or even the internationalisation of Trinidad-style carnivals.

The theoretical sample of interviews used in this study means that the findings cannot be said to be representative of all organisations involved in the Notting Hill Carnival. Trinidad-style carnivals or international festivals generally. The findings can only be said to be representative of those organisations participating in the study which limits the applicability of the findings. However, this

thesis can potentially be used to create a quantitative research instrument which can be used to target a much larger number of participants which enables randomised sampling to be undertaken.

In developing her case study, the researcher used previously published documents, internal reports and memorandum held within the Victoria and Albert Museum archive and also other documentation provided by interviewees such as magazines and brochures. The researcher also used published accounts by other researchers to fill in gaps in the findings. There will be a degree of reflexivity involved in the preparation of these documents and, although they provide useful details and confirm statements made by interviewees, it must be acknowledged the documents were prepared for reasons not specific to the researcher's needs and portray a particular point of view. The researcher in examining these documents after their publication would not be able to determine how much the particular writers' own objectives influenced data presented.

This thesis, although it provides a detailed exploration into the internationalisation of a festival, as an exploratory study it does not provide quantitative data about the extent and prevalence of international business activity. It provides a range of options but does not provide specific details about which internationalisation options are most profitable or estimate the economic impacts of festival internationalisation. Further research is needed to guide policy makers and festival organisations, and make more specific recommendations about how international business opportunities in the festival sector should be approached.

10.6 Recommendations for Further Research

A lack of generalisability was highlighted as one of the key limitations of this thesis. The relatively small number of interviewees participating also limits the representativeness of the findings.

However, this exploratory study has provided a basis on which a larger quantitative research study can be designed which can potentially form the basis of comparative studies which focus on the Notting Hill Carnival and other Trinidad-style carnivals, the Notting Hill Carnival and other Diaspora festivals or the Notting Hill Carnival and other international Festivals. This would allow for the exploration of the specific peculiarities of the UK festival context, Trinidad-style carnivals, Diaspora festivals and international festivals, and also yield results which allow for generalisation across and within these distinct festival types.

Another limitation of case study research done on festivals is that many of them, including this thesis, rely on archival materials to substantiate interviews and to fill in gaps in the history of past events when other sources of information are not available. Newspaper accounts and reports written by statutory bodies are often used without considering the role of reflexivity in the creation of the data they contain. A useful contribution to the research on festivals would be an explicit comparison of the discourses found within the documents of different types of actors such as media, statutory bodies and organisers involved in festivals. This type of study could uncover the often unspoken agendas of these distinct groups and contribute to a richer understanding of festival politics.

In order to provide more specific recommendations in pursuing festival internationalisation, some quantitative data would be required regarding the economic impacts of the international business activities of festivals, which goes beyond the current practice of counting the spend of tourism arrivals and changes in hotel accommodation. Pratt's (1997) cultural production system provides a useful starting point to capture this economic data. Pratt's system, instead of than just counting what he describes as "derived consumption and tourism", identifies original production, commissioning and directing, production of the means of production, reproduction and mass distribution and sites of exchange of rights to consume as all part of cultural production. These stages of production are also

evident within international festivals. They can therefore be used as a basis to capture the value created from the range of products, services and experiences involved in international festival production.

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APPENDIX 1

REC Reference Number: REP-H/10/11-18

INTERVIEW GUIDE - CARNIVAL COSTUMED BAND LEADER



ABOUT THE BAND

1. Origins
2. Customer base
3. Changing customer demographics

PATH/DEVELOPMENT OF THE BAND

4. Attracting new members versus old members
5. Evolving marketing methods
6. Adaptation to changing festival environment
7. Participation in other carnivals

MARKET ACTIVITIES

8. Business model
9. Challenges of funding environment
10. New activities or business models to meet challenges
11. Raw material sources
12. Sources of other costume inputs

PARTNERS/PARTNERSHIP ROLE

13. Role of the NHMBA
14. Relationships with carnivals outside of London or the UK
15. Role of the Arts Council
16. Role of the LNHCL
17. Relationships with other costumed bands

APPENDIX 2

Schedule of Interviewees

Interviewees	Organisation(s), date(s) established	Role(s) in Carnival	Organisation Type(s)	Head's Nationality	Key Links
1	Mas' band, 1983	CAMF Member	Non-profit	British	Political Educational
2	Mas' band, 2001	CAMF Member	For profit	Trinidadian	Business
3	Mas' band, 2001	CAMF Member	Non-profit	Brazilian	Political
4	Mas' band, 1998	CAMF Member	Non-profit	British of Other Caribbean Parent	Political
5	Mas' band, 2002	CAMF Member	Non-profit	Brazilian	Educational
6	Mas' band, 1980	CAMF Member	Non-profit	British of Trinidadian Parent	Political Business
7	Steel/mas' band, 1980	BAS/CAMF Member	Non-profit	British of Other Caribbean Parent	Political
8	Mas' band, 2009	CAMF Member	Non-profit	Trinidadian	Political
9	Steel band, 2007	BAS Member	Non-profit	Trinidadian	Educational
10	BAS, 1995	BAS Executive	Non-profit	Trinidadian	Political
11	BAS, 1995	BAS Executive	Non-profit	British of Trinidadian Parent	Business Charitable Political
12	Steel band, 1969	BAS member, BAS Executive & LNHCL Executive	Non-profit	Trinidadian	Political Educational
	BAS, 1995				
13	LNHCL, 2003				
	Steel Band, 1988	Independent steel band leader	Non-profit	Trinidadian	Business Political Charitable
14	Static sound system, 2009	BASS Member	For profit	British	Business
15	Static sound system, 1994	BASS Member	For profit	British	Business

Interviewees	Organisation(s), date(s) established	Role(s) in Carnival	Organisation Type(s)	Head's Nationality	Key Links
16	Steel band, 1985	Independent steel band leader	For profit	British	Charitable Educational Business
17	Static sound system, 1989	BASS Member	For profit	British of Jamaican Parentage	Business
18	NHCEL, NHCL, NHCT, 1989, 1991, 1997	Executive member of various NHC organising bodies (1989- 2003)	Non-profit	Trinidadian	Business Political
19	ACE (formerly ACGB), 1946	ACE Officer	Not relevant	Not relevant	Not relevant
20	Steel band, 2000	BAS Member	Non-profit	British	Educational Charitable Business
21	Static sound system, 1970	BASS Member	For profit	Jamaican	Business

22	LNHCL, 2003	LNHCL Executive (2009-2012)	Non-profit	British of Trinidadian Parent	Political Business
23	Steel band, 1996	BASS Member, Acting BAS Executive	Non-profit	Trinidadian	Educational
24	LNHCL, 2003	LNHCL Executive (2005-2008)	Non-profit	British of Jamaican Parent	Political Business
26	RKBC, 1965	Environmental Health Officer /Special Event Officer responsible for NHC (1992- present)	Not relevant	Not relevant	Not relevant
27	LNHCL, 2003	LNHCL Executive (2009-2012)	Non-profit	British of Trinidadian Parent	Political Business
28	Mas' band, 2000	CAMF Member	Non-profit	British Other Caribbean Parent	Political

APPENDIX 3

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

REC Reference Number: REP-H/10/11-18



INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN A GROUD BREAKING RESEARCH STUDY

Research Project Title - Festival Internationalisation: The Trinidad and Tobago Carnival as an Experience Production System

You are being invited to participate in an original research project. You should only participate if you want to; choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in any way. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Research Aims & Objectives

This research project is aimed at discovering the contemporary challenges and opportunities that serving international markets has meant for the cultural artists/performers/organisations involved in staging carnivals in Trinidad, London and Barbados. It aims to discover:

1. How have these carnivals changed overtime to serve international markets.
2. The range of international business activities that artists/performers/organisations involved in these carnivals participate in.
3. The current and emerging business opportunities and challenges facing these carnival celebrations.

Among its objectives are:

1. Identifying the different methods that Carnival artists/performers/organisations use to serve international markets.
2. Finding out specific types of business activities that cultural artists/performers/organisations involved in staging Carnivals engage in.
3. Discovering barriers that these cultural artists/performers/organisations face when participating in international business activities.
4. Exploring the specific business opportunities that arise when Carnival artists/performers/organisations serve international markets.

Who Are the Participants/Potential Participants in this Study?

The participants in this study will be carnival artists/performers/organisations involved in the Trinidad Carnival, the Barbados Crop Over and the Notting Hill Carnival. They will be involved in one or more of the cultural activities of these carnivals such as soca/calypso, steel pan, masquerade making or overall festival organisation.

When and Where Will the Study Take Place?

I will visit you at your business premises or come to a mutually convenient location to speak with you. It is expected that we will meet during the period September 2011-September 2012.

How Much Time Will You Need to Participate in the Study?

You will need devote some time to studying the interview sheet beforehand (about 15 minutes) and submit to a face-to-face interview which is 1-2 hours in duration. The researcher may telephone with a few follow-up questions after the interview has taken place.

What Types of Information Will the Researcher Want?

- Background information about your participation in Carnival, which may involve the sharing of information from business reports and other documents.
- Your initial experiences with international business activities.
- The range of international business activities that you/your organisation currently engage in. These may include:
 - Exporting CDs, costumes, instruments
 - Participating in international tours and showcases
 - Providing paid advice for organisers/artists/performers in Carnivals overseas
 - Use of international expertise
 - Importing of raw materials
- Any opportunities or challenges that you have come across as a result of your/your organisation's participation in international business activities.

What Types of Information Will Not Be Required?

- No questions will be asked which pertain to your/your organisation's financial information (for e.g. prices/performance fees, profit margins etc.).
- You will not be asked to reveal the names of your customers or contacts overseas.
- You will not be asked to name the suppliers or consultants that you/your organisation use.
- You will not be asked to comment on or compare yourself/ your organisation to competitors.

Are There Any Risks Involved in Participating in the Research Study?

The risks involved in participating are minimal. You/your organisation will not be identified by name as the research is concerned with investigating the carnivals as a whole not individuals or organisations. If there are questions that you find intrusive, you are free to not answer those questions or to withdraw from participating altogether. Additionally all the research data gathered by the researcher during the study will be destroyed once the research project is complete.

Are There Any Benefits Involved in Participating?

At the conclusion of the research, I will send you a summary of the major findings of the project as well as the full written report. You shall also be invited to attend any local conferences/workshops/meetings in which the research findings are presented.

How Will Privacy and Confidentiality be Maintained?

Everything disclosed by you/your organisation will be kept confidential by the researcher and not be revealed to any third parties. You/your organisation will be referred to by a pseudonym (such as Mr. A, Ms. B., Steel Band 1 and Mas' Camp 2), these pseudonyms will be the only ways in which the information you/your organisation provides can be identified. The researcher will be the only person that has access to your information which will be stored securely in password protected files.

Who is Organising and Funding the Research?

The researcher has full responsibility for organising and funding this research project. She is not receiving funding from a third party.

What If I Have Questions about the Project?

Please contact the researcher Nicole Ferdinand by email at nicole.ferdinand@kcl.ac.uk, by phone at +44 (0) 798 356 2341, or by post at Rollit House, Rollit Street, London N7 7BT, United Kingdom

It is up to you to decide whether to take part or not. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. You may withdraw your data up until the final draft of the research is prepared on September 30th 2012. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

If this study has harmed you in any way you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

Dr Ruth Adams – Lecturer/ PhD. Supervisor
Culture, Media & Creative Industries
King's College, London
Room 6C, Chesham Building
Strand
London
WC2R 2LS

Telephone: 020 7848 1065
E-mail: ruth.3.adams@kcl.ac.uk

APPENDIX 4

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.



Title of Study: Festival Internationalisation: The Trinidad and Tobago Carnival as an Experience Production System

King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: REP-H/10/11-18

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

Please tick
or initial

- I understand that if I decide at any time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researcher involved and withdraw from it immediately without giving any reason. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to withdraw my data up to the point the final draft of the research findings is prepared on September 30th 2013. ☐
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998 (UK participants only tick, others indicate NA). ☐
- I understand that the information I give about myself/ my organisation will be anonymous. ☐
- I know that the information that I provide will be held securely and not revealed to any third parties. ☐
- I consent to my interview being recorded. ☐

Participant's Statement:

I _____

agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX 5

Research Ethics Application

APPLICATION FOR ETHICAL APPROVAL

Please tick the Committee you are applying to:

Sub-Committees (RESC)

PNM RESC ☐

(Psychiatry, Nursing & Midwifery)

SSHL RESC ☐

(Social Sciences, Humanities & Law
High Risk)

BDM RESC (Health) ☐

(Biomedical & Health Sciences,
Dentistry, Medicine and Natural &
Mathematical Sciences)

Research Ethics Panels (REP)

For SSPP, Humanities and Law (non-high risk only)

E&M REP ☐
(Education & Management)

GGs REP ☐
(Geography, Gerontology, SCWRU)

Humanities REP ☒

War Studies Group REP ☐

Law REP ☐

(Law & Department of Political Economy)

Notes for all applicants

- Please read the guidelines before filling out the application form and refer to the specific guidelines about each section when filling in the form.
(<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/research/ethics/applicants/>)
- Refer to the Guidelines for the submission deadlines for your Committee and the number of copies to submit (including electronic versions if applicable).
- All applications should be submitted **by 5pm on the deadline day**.
- All Sub-committee applications should be submitted to the Research Ethics Office, 5.11 Franklin Wilkins Building, (Waterloo Bridge Wing), Waterloo Campus, King's College London, Stamford Street, London SE1 9NH.
- All Research Ethics Panel applications should be submitted to SSPP Ethics Administrator, K0.58 Ground Floor Strand Building, King's College London, The Strand, London WC2R 2LS.

King's College London - Research Ethics
2010/2011/3

SECTION A – TO BE COMPLETED BY ALL APPLICANTS

1. APPLICANT DETAILS

1.1 RESEARCHER

Researcher's Name: NICOLE FERDINAND

Researcher's Department & School: CULTURE, MEDIA AND THE CREATIVE INDUSTRIES, SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Status:

☐ Undergraduate ☐ Taught Postgraduate ☒ MPhil / PhD/ Specialist Doctorate ☐ Staff Research

If Student:

Name of course/qualification: PHD IN CULTURE MEDIA AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES RESEARCH

If Staff:

Researcher's Post:

1.2 CONTACT DETAILS

Email: Nicole_Ferdinand@yahoo.co.uk; n.ferdinand@londonmet.ac.uk ,
Nicole.Ferdinand@kcl.ac.uk **Telephone number:** 07983562341
Address: Flat 14 Rollit House, Rollit Street, London N7 7BT United Kingdom

1.3 SUPERVISOR - COMPLETE FOR ALL STUDENT PROJECTS (Including PhD)

Name of Supervisor: Dr. Ruth Adams
Supervisor's Post: Lecturer, CMCI
Supervisor's Department (if different to student):
Supervisor's email address: ruth.3.adams@kcl.ac.uk

1.4 OTHER INVESTIGATORS, COLLABORATORS, ORGANISATIONS

List any other investigators/collaborators involved with the study, and ensure that their role (e.g. collaborator, gatekeeper) and responsibilities within the project are explained. You should include any draft/preliminary approach letters to gatekeeper organisations and confirm that you will have permission letters available for inspection if requested for audit purposes.

NB: For other investigators/collaborators clarify if their employer is not King's College London.

Not applicable

2. PROJECT DETAILS

2.1 Project Title	Festival Internationalization: The Trinidad and Tobago Carnival as an Experience Production System
2.2 Projected Start Date of Project This should be when you intend to start work with participants	September 2011
2.3 Expected Completion Date of Project	May 2013
2.4 Sponsoring Organisation Your sponsor will be assumed to be King's College London unless stated otherwise. NB: Do not put 'N/A'	King's College London
2.5 Funder (e.g. self-funded, King's College London, ESRC, AHRB, EU)	Self-funded and employer funded (by London Metropolitan University)

2.6 DOES THE STUDY INVOLVE HUMAN PARTICIPANTS OR FOR OTHER REASONS REQUIRE ETHICAL APPROVAL?

NB: It may be the case that research does not involve human participants yet raises other ethical issues with potential social or environmental implications. In this case you should still apply. Please consult with the Research Ethics Office (rec@kcl.ac.uk) if in doubt.

☒ Yes ☐ No

2.7 OTHER INFORMATION RELATING TO RISK

Will the study place the researcher at any risk greater than that encountered in his/her daily life?

(e.g. interviewing alone or in dangerous circumstances, or data collection outside the UK).

Yes ☐ No ☒

If applicable:

Does the study involve the using a Medical Device outside of the CE mark approved method of use? (see

guidelines) If you are using a medical device 'off label' (outside of the approved method of use) then a risk assessment needs to be completed. For further information on medical devices see the Medicines and Healthcare Products Regulatory Agency webpages:

<http://www.mhra.gov.uk/Publications/Regulatoryguidance/Devices/index.htm> and

<http://www.mhra.gov.uk/Publications/Regulatoryguidance/Devices/GuidanceontheECMedicalDevicesDirectives/index.htm>.

Yes ☐ No ☒

If you have ticked yes to either of the above:

☐ **Yes**, and I have completed a risk assessment which has been co-signed by the Head of Department/ I have discussed the risks involved with my supervisor or Head of Department and agreed a strategy for minimising these risks.

2.8 OTHER PERMISSIONS, ETHICAL APPROVALS & CRIMINAL RECORDS BUREAU CLEARANCE REQUIRED

ANOTHER REVIEWING BODY/PERMISSIONS - Are any other approvals by another reviewing body (including other ethics committees, gatekeepers and peer review) required? If yes, give details and say when these will be obtained. If they have already been obtained you should provide a copy of the approval with the application otherwise you will need to supply it when ready.

YES ☐ NO ☒

CRIMINAL RECORDS BUREAU - Is Criminal Records Bureau clearance necessary? If so, please confirm that clearance will be sought before commencement of the project. YES ☐ NA ☒

2.9 HUMAN TRIALS QUESTIONNAIRE

Does a **human trials questionnaire** need to be submitted? YES ☐ NO ☒

(<http://kcl.ac.uk/about/structure/admin/finance/staff/insurance/trials.html>)

If yes, confirm that the Human Trials Questionnaire will be submitted prior to the start of the study.

YES ☐

3. AIMS, OBJECTIVES & NATURE OF STUDY

Cultural goods, such as festivals, in particular, have been radically internationalised and are facing a myriad of challenges and also opportunities as a result. Thus far existing research paradigms such as tourism, sociology, geography and cultural studies have failed to adequately address the contemporary challenges that internationalisation has meant for festival organisations. Additionally, experience goods such as festivals have not been examined extensively in international business literature, thus this study will fill a significant gap in international business theory, which has been mainly focused on the internationalisation of manufacturing and to a lesser extent utilitarian service products such as financial, computing and other professional services. It aims to discover:

1. How have festivals adapted overtime to serve international markets?
2. What is the range of international business activities that festivals organisations participate in?
3. What are the current and emerging business opportunities and challenges facing international festivals?

Specific objectives include:

1. Identifying the modes of internationalisation that are apparent in festival internationalization.
2. Identifying and classifying specific types of business activities that festivals engage in.
3. Identifying new/innovative/hybrid business models being used by festival organizations.
4. Discovering barriers to festival organisations participating in international business.
5. Exploring the specific business opportunities that arise when festivals internationalise.

4. STUDY DESIGN/METHODOLOGY, DATA COLLECTION & ANALYSIS

Provide a brief outline of the step-by-step procedure of your proposed study, in no more than 1 page where possible. (An example of a flow chart that could be used is in the Guidelines.)

The approach that will be taken to answer the research questions proposed by this thesis is that of case studies. Due to the complex nature of the subject that is being researched, which will involve examining different types of data – archival documents and interviews – case studies will be the most suitable approach. Case study research allows for the incorporation of a wide range of evidence, both qualitative and quantitative in the investigation of a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context (Yin, 2003). The Trinidad Carnival is very much a contemporary festival and due to its dynamic nature, it must be understood as such.

The literature has suggested that the Trinidad Carnival can be understood as part of a network of “Trinidad-styled” carnivals staged both in the Caribbean and in cities throughout North America and Europe. Thus in addition to Trinidad, case studies will be done on festivals which are representative of Carnivals held in the Caribbean and beyond. This will improve the thesis’ potential for generalization which has been highlighted as a critical limitation of research on the Trinidad Carnival and other types of festivals. The first of these case studies will be carried out on the Notting Hill Carnival because London is the closest and most accessible festival site. It will be exploratory in nature as it will be used to refine and develop further research questions. After this initial study has been completed, case studies will be done of the Trinidad Carnival and the Barbados Crop Over Festival.

One of the key difficulties with case study research is the selection of relevant data as the nature of case study research is such that the boundaries between the phenomenon being studied and the context in which it is studied are easily blurred (Yin, 1993). For this reason the theoretical framework established in the literature review, will be relied on to give findings focus and structure.

Qualitative approaches will be utilized for the analysis of the data uncovered. For the archival documents and interviews content analysis will be used, which will involve going through the text and specifying codes which are driven by theory in the literature review. These codes will be used to identify initial patterns or themes in each of the case studies. After this has been done other forms of analysis can be undertaken to uncover relationships and patterns that are common across all case studies. This can include a *replication strategy* (Yin, 1984) in which one case study – such as the Carnival in Trinidad – is

studied in depth and then successive case studies – carnivals in other countries – are examined to see whether the themes and patterns present in the first case are present in the others. These patterns will be represented using text as well as flow charts and diagrams (Miles and Huberman, 1994)

References

- Miles, M.B. and Huberman (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis* (Second Edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishing Inc.
- Yin, R.K. (1984). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications
- Yin, R.K. (1993). *Applications of Case Study Research*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publishing Inc.
- Yin, R.K. (2003). *Applications of Case Study Research* (Third Edition). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishing Inc.

5. PARTICIPANTS TO BE STUDIED

5.1 PROJECTED NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS

Number: 50-75

If applicable: How many will be male and female

Justification for the sample size: It is anticipated that multiple interviews will be conducted with cultural practitioners in each of the case study sites. Additionally for each case study there are distinct groups of cultural practitioners – for example, event organisers, masquerade/float makers, calypso singers, steel bands and static sound systems - multiple representatives from each grouping will be interviewed.

If an upper age limit is needed you must provide a justification. Not applicable

Upper Age Limit:

Lower age limit:

5.2 SELECTION CRITERIA

The participants' suitability for selection will be determined by their participation in international business activities.

5.3 RECRUITMENT

Describe how participants will be (i) identified and (ii) approached.

Participants will be identified from listings held by umbrella organisations of practitioners working in each of the cultural forms present in the Carnivals. For example, Pantrimbago has a publicly available list of all the steel bands that are members in Trinidad and Tobago. From there participants will be sent letters and e-mails asking for their participation in the research study. These initial contacts will be followed-up by phone calls.

5.4 LOCATION

State where the work will be carried out e.g. public place, in researcher's office, in private office at organisation.

Participants will be interviewed at their business premises (e.g. steel pan yard, mas camp, studio or office) or at a mutually convenient public place.

6. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

6.1 INFORMED CONSENT

Describe the process you will use to ensure your participants are freely giving fully informed consent to participate. This will **always** include the provision of an information sheet and will normally require a consent form unless it is a purely self-completion questionnaire based study or there is a justification for not doing so (this must be clearly stated). Templates for these are at the end of this document and they should be filled in and modified where necessary.

In addition to the invitation letter or e-mail, each potential participant will be provided with an information sheet and consent form (see attached).

6.2 RIGHT OF WITHDRAWAL

(Participants should be able to withdraw from the research process at any time and also should be able to withdraw their data if it is identifiable as theirs and should be told when this will no longer be possible (e.g. once it has been included in the final report). Please describe the exact arrangements for withdrawal from participation and withdrawal of data depending on your study design).

All participants will be advised of their right to withdraw in the initial invitation letter, information sheet and consent form. They will be allowed to withdraw up until the point a draft of the findings has been prepared and they have approved what has been written about them/ their organisation.

6.3 RISK CHECKLIST

Where you have ticked **'Yes' on the risk checklist**, provide details of relevant qualifications and experience **with reference to those sections**. This **must** include the researcher and/or supervisor as well as other collaborators (if applicable) involved in those sections marked as presenting risk. (Do not submit a c.v.)

Not applicable

You must also specifically address the ethical issues raised from those sections here. Not applicable

NB: If you ticked yes to any point in E i -vi of the checklist, you must also complete and submit Section B of the application form.

6.4 OTHER ETHICAL ISSUES

Please consider whether there are other ethical issues you should be covering here. Further, **if applicable**, please also add the professional code of conduct you intend to follow in your research. <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/research/ethics/training/codes.html>

In keeping with the profession code of conduct specified by the Social Research Association (2003) due attention will be paid to respecting the rights of members of the wider society affected by the research project (the Caribbean community, whose heritage is being investigated) and the subjects of the research project (the cultural practitioners and organisations participating in the study). In terms of the wider society, care will be taken to ensure that findings from the research are:

1. Communicated to the widest possible audience – in addition to academic conferences, the research will be presented in informal workshops and meetings.
2. Not presented in such a way that they unduly embarrasses the community concerned or in a way in which they can be misused or misinterpreted by groups within/outside the community.
3. Objective and not favouring any particular group from within the community.

To safeguard research subjects the researcher will:

1. Take care that findings disclosed are no threat to the participating cultural practitioners'/cultural organisations' livelihoods/businesses.
2. Ensure that all research subjects fully understand what they are consenting to.
3. Avoid undue intrusion by only asking for information that is strictly related to the research project.
4. Ensure that the identities of participants are kept confidential.

5. Ensure that no particular group of cultural practitioners/cultural organisations is excluded from the study (e.g. ethnic minorities such as White or Chinese Trinidadians or females)

It should be noted that other concerns highlighted by SRA (2003) such as obligations to funders/employers and obligations to colleagues are not applicable to this research project because the research is self-funded and undertaking the research alone.

For further details about the professional code of conduct from the Social Research Association, please see: <http://www.the-sra.org.uk/documents/pdfs/ethics03.pdf>

6.5 BENEFITS & RISKS

Please describe any expected benefits and risks to the research participant.

For example:

Will participants receive a copy of the final report?

What is the potential for adverse effects resulting from study participation, e.g.

- participants suffering pain, discomfort, distress, inconvenience or changes to lifestyle.
- sensitive, embarrassing or upsetting topics being discussed/raised.

Identify the potential for each of above and state how you will minimise risk and deal with any untoward incidents/adverse reactions.

Potential benefits for participants - All participants will receive a finished copy of the report and also be invited to a conference/meeting/workshop session in which the findings from the research are presented.

Potential risks for participants – Some participants may not wish details of their businesses revealed, particularly any international links or intelligence they may possess. Care will be taken to address these risks.

6.6 CRIMINAL OR OTHER DISCLOSURES REQUIRING ACTION

Is it possible that criminal or other disclosures requiring action (e.g. evidence of professional misconduct) could be made during this study?

YES ☐ NO ☒

If yes, detail what procedures will be put in place to deal with these issues. The Information Sheet should make it clear under which circumstances action may be taken by the researcher.

7 FINANCIAL INCENTIVES, EXPENSES AND COMPENSATION

7.1 Will travelling expenses be given? If yes, this should be stated on the Information Sheet

YES ☐ NO ☒

7.2 Is any reward, apart from travelling expenses to be given to participants? If yes, please provide details and a justification for this. It is recommended that participants are informed of the compensation on the information sheet.

YES ☐ NO ☒

7.3 Is the study in collaboration with a pharmaceutical company or an equipment or medical device manufacturer? If yes, please give the name of the company and indicate what arrangements exist for compensating patients or healthy volunteers for adverse effects resulting from their participation in the study (in most cases, the Committee will only approve protocols if the pharmaceutical company involved confirms that it abides by APBI (The Association of the British Pharmaceutical Industry) guidelines. A copy of the indemnification form (Appendix C) should be submitted with the application.

YES ☐ NO ☒

7.4 No fault compensation scheme If your study is based in the UK you **must** offer the No-fault compensation scheme to participants unless there is a clear justification for not doing so (if this is the case this must be stated and you should bear in mind that the Sub-Committee reserves the right to make this a condition of approval).

YES, I am making the scheme available to participants ☒ X

NO, the study is based outside the UK and so the scheme is not applicable ☐

NO, the study is within the UK but the No-fault compensation scheme is not offered for the following reason:

8. DATA PROTECTION, CONFIDENTIALITY, AND DATA AND RECORDS MANAGEMENT

8.a. Confirm that all processing of personal information related to the study will be in full compliance with the Data Protection Act 1998 (DPA) including the Data Protection Principles).

If you are processing any personal information outside of the European Economic Area you **must** explain how compliance with the DPA will be ensured.

YES ☒ X
NO ☐

8b. What steps will be taken to ensure the confidentiality of personal information? Give details of anonymisation procedures and of physical and technical security measures. Please note to make data truly anonymous **all information** that could potentially identify a participant needs to be removed in addition to names. **NB: Personal data held on mobile devices must be encrypted**
([http://www.kcl.ac.uk/college/policyzone/assets/files/information_policies/Encryption%20Policy%2020100513FINALv1%20\(2\).pdf](http://www.kcl.ac.uk/college/policyzone/assets/files/information_policies/Encryption%20Policy%2020100513FINALv1%20(2).pdf)).

All cultural practitioners/cultural organisation members/festival organisers interviewed will be referred to by pseudonyms (e.g. Mr. S, Mrs. P. etc.) and cultural organisations will be given generic names (e.g. Steel band 1, Masquerade band 2). The business practices revealed by all interviewees will be described in as general terms as possible. All interviews will be stored as mp3s in password protected files. The same will apply for any of the private documents acquired from cultural practitioners or organisations. In cases where documents are provided as hard copies, company names and details will be blacked out and stored securely at the researcher's home only.

8c. Who will have access to personal information relating to this study? Confirm that any necessary wider disclosures of personal information (for instance to colleagues beyond the study team, translators, transcribers auditors etc) have been properly explained to study participants.

Only the researcher will have access to any personal information related to this study.

8d. Data and records management responsibilities during the study. The 'Principal Investigator' is the named researcher for staff projects and the supervisor for student projects.

I confirm that the Principal Investigator will take full responsibility for ensuring appropriate storage and security for all study information including research data, consent forms and administrative records and that, where appropriate, the necessary arrangements will be made in order to process copyright material lawfully.

YES ☒ X **NO** ☐

8e. Data management responsibilities after the study.

State **how long** study information including research data, consent forms and administrative records will be retained, **what format(s)** the information will be kept in and **where** the data will be stored. For example, where within King's College London?
(<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/iss/igc/tools/researchers.html>)

As per KCL's (2010) ISS Information Governance and Compliance guidance document - 'How long should I keep my research data? Decision tree' - research data, consent forms and administrative records will be kept up until my PhD. Award is confirmed. Thereafter, all research data, consent forms and administrative records will be deleted and/or destroyed.

Please see: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/content/1/c6/05/57/93/Howlongshouldikeepmyresearchdata.pdf> for a copy of the above named document.

NB: Any personally identifiable data that is held on any mobile device should be encrypted. This includes data stored on USB keys, laptop/netbooks, desktop computers, smart phones, workgroup servers and relevant emails.

In addition, confirm whether the storage arrangements comply with the Data Protection Act 1998 and the College guidelines.

YES X **NO** ☐

Will data be archived for use by other researchers?

NO X

YES (in anonymised form) ☐ If you intend to share anonymised data with other researchers, you must make this clear on the information sheet.

YES (in identifiable form following the guidance below) ☐

Will any personal information related to this study be retained and shared in unanonymised form? If you tick yes you must ensure that these arrangements are detailed in the Information Sheet and that participant consent will be in place.

YES ☐ **NO** X

9. AUTHORISING SIGNATURES

9.1 RESEARCHER/APPLICANT

I undertake to abide by accepted ethical principles and appropriate code(s) of practice in carrying out this study. The information supplied above is to the best of my knowledge accurate. I have read the Application Guidelines and clearly understand my obligations and the rights of participants, particularly in so far as to obtaining valid consent. I understand that I must not commence research with human participants until I have received full approval from the ethics committee.

Signature

Date.....

9.2 SUPERVISOR AUTHORISATION FOR STUDENT PROJECTS (including PhD)

I confirm that I have read this application and will be acting as the student researcher's supervisor for this project. The proposal is viable and the student has appropriate skills to undertake the research. The Information Sheet and recruitment procedures for obtaining informed consent are appropriate and the ethical issues arising from the project have been addressed in the application. I understand that research with human participants must not commence without full approval from the ethics committee.

If applicable:

The student has read an appropriate professional code of ethical practice

☐ The student has completed a risk assessment form ☐

Name of Supervisor:

Signature

Date.....

9.3 MEDICAL SUPERVISION (if appropriate – see the Guidelines)

Name of Medical Supervisor:

Medical Supervisor's MDU/MPS (or other insurance provider) number:

.....

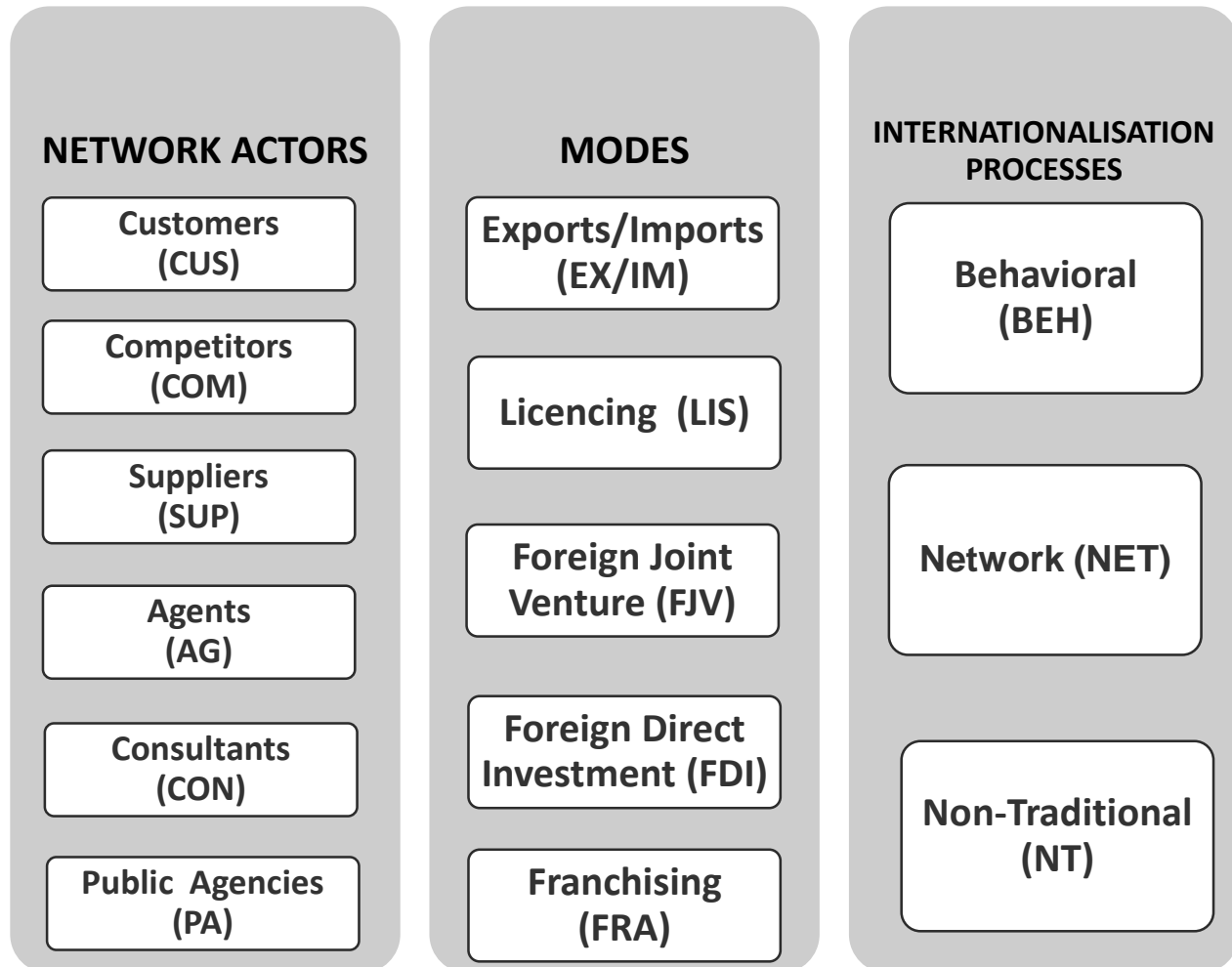
Signature of Medical Supervisor:

.....

Date.....

APPENDIX 6

Initial code categories



APPENDIX 7

Initial analysis

Interviewee	EX	IM	LIS	FJV	FDI	FRA
1		Trinidad is where I go to get the good stuff [materials].				
2	We've done things for like British [West Indian] Airways. In the early days my [name of business] was called the BWIA [name of business] BWIA was my sponsor.	[Name of Trinidadian masquerade band leader] has people to pay 52 weeks a year so why would I make my own costumes?				
5	Rotterdam Carnival they pay ... for board and lodging and they have a guy who comes round with, two guys, with tanks on their back full of water and they pour you out a glass of water for the drummers. On the continent you can	All the costumes are made in Brazil. All the drums are made in Brazil. Most of the T-Shirts are printed in Brazil.				

Interviewee	EX	IM	LIS	FJV	FDI	FRA
	actually make a living.					
28	This year we are going to Germany for a performance and we have also run workshops in Germany.					
8	In India I run a skill development project where I help people in a village do embroidery.	My wardrobe is in Trinidad. So if I travel in this [gesturing to own clothes], I come back in this and I bring back two suitcases of braids [used in the making of costumes].				

APPENDIX 8

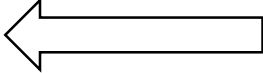
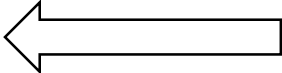
Later code categories

Network Actors	Markets	Festival Networks	Modes	Export/Import Types	Internationalisation Processes	Entrepreneurial Characteristics
Customers (CUS) Competitors (COM)	Brazil (BRA) Germany (GER)	Berlin (BER) Birmingham (BIR)	Exports (EX) Imports (IM)	Appearances (APP) Private APP (PAPP)	Innovation (INN) Innovation activity (INNA)	British Born (BB) C'bbean born(CB)
Suppliers (SUP)	Italy (ITA)	Bridgewater (BWT)	Licensing (LI)	Sponsorship (SPO)	Innovation learning (INNL)	Brazilian born (BB)
Agents (AG) Consultants (CON)	Jamaica (JAM) Malaysia (MAL)	Bristol (BRI) CALO (CAL)	Foreign JV (FJV) Foreign DI (FDI)	Costumes(COS) Consultancy (CONY)	Network (NET) Network activity (NETA)	C'bbean parent (CP) Non-Profit (NP)
Public Agencies (PA)	Spain (SPA)	Chesam (CHE)	Franchising (FDA)	Training (TRA)	Network learning (NETL)	For-Profit (FP)
International Agencies (IA)	Thailand (THA)	Coventry (COV)		Equipment (EQU)	Non-Traditional (NT)	Public Funds (PF)
	Ukraine (UKR)	Derby (DER)		Materials (MAT)	Non-Traditional activity (NTA)	Private Funds (PRV)
		Dortmund (DOR)		Instruments (INS)	Non-Traditional learning (NL)	Business links (BL)
		Grand Cayman(GRA) Hackney (HAC) Hamburg (HAN) Huddersfield (HUD) Leeds (LEE) Liverpool (LIV) Luton (LUT) Manchester (MAN) Rio (RIO) Rotterdam (ROT) Seychelles (SEY) Thames (THA) Trinidad (TRI) Tamsui (TAM)		Merchandise (MER) Exchanges (EXC) Arrangements (ARR) Dub plates (DPS)		Political links (PL)

APPENDIX 9

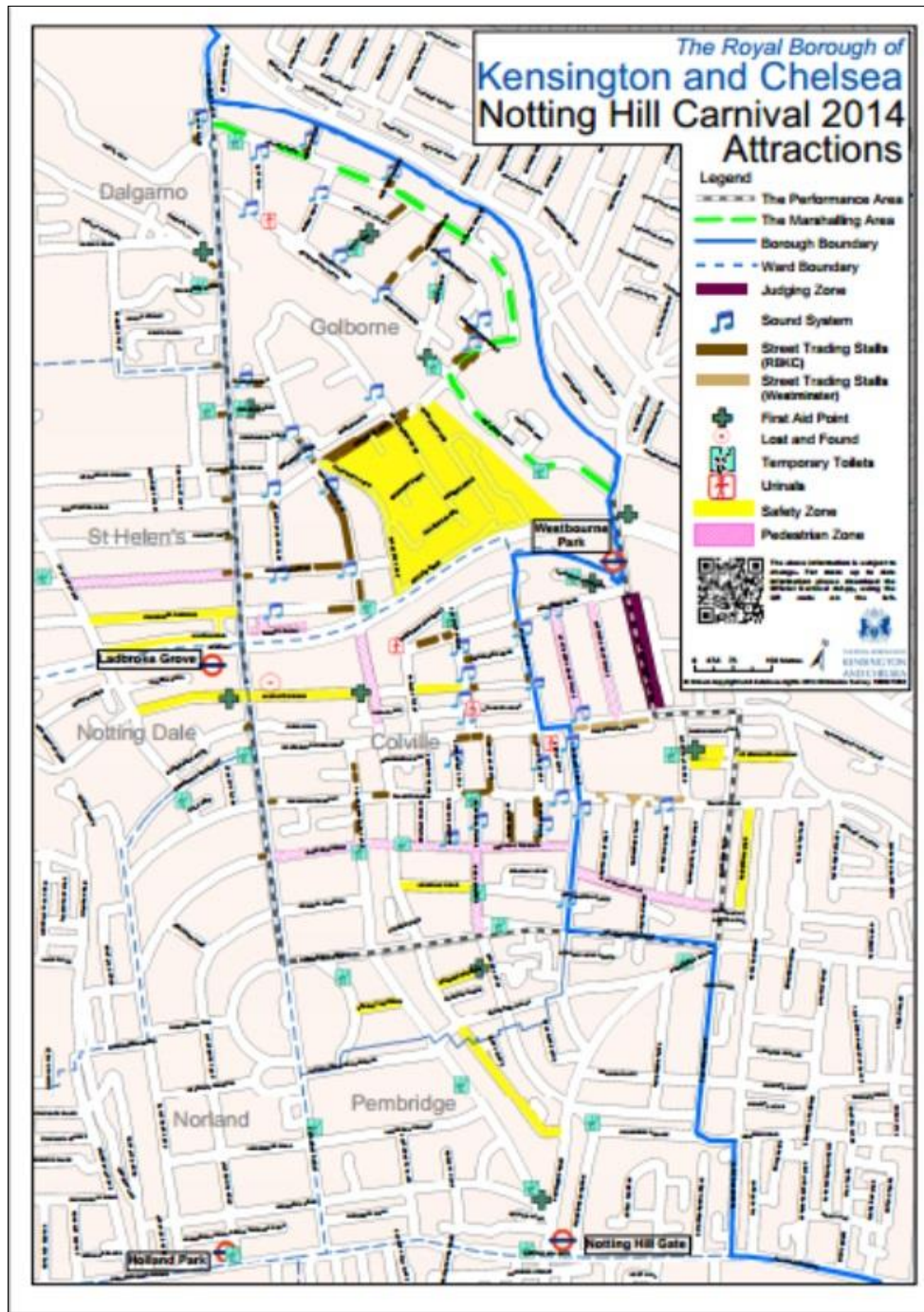
Later analysis Identifying Patterns in International Business Activity

Interviewee	INNA	INNLT	NTA	NTL
8			<p>When I went to Australia, I did work in Australia ... there was a point I was touring my India work ... I had an exhibition of that and the reason I got there was because an artist friend of mine in to carnival invited me and she got me to exhibit the India work and she got me to do two tours, because at that point they had finished the Olympics and they were trying to do things with their Olympic Stadium ...</p> <p>[Name of business contact] is who I going to Seychelles with by the way. Dat is meh good friend.</p>	<p><i>Memo: Relationships and knowledge exchange with others leads to international opportunities. What's different about these organisations?</i></p>
9			<p>Is worth your while [to tour] rather than staying in England, you meet other bands you network. They want you to come and do a workshop with them. So it goes tit for tat.</p>	<p>I'm working on something in South Africa at the moment and it's the same thing we doing. We not selfish. We trying to share our knowledge and what we know about</p>

Interviewee	INNA	INNLT	NTA	NTL
				steel pan. So everybody could enjoy it. If I'm doing a workshop they will pay [...].
22	[...] and the organisation ... I think it was about 7 and a half thousand pounds we got out of that.	In terms of Sweden though by then I learnt my lesson [...]		
				
24	I stop all that because what was happening also is directors would intercept these deals.	[Carib, for example] they wanted to come in [...] what would happen before whoever took the phone call would start dealing with it.		
	<i>Memo: Learning from experience results in international business activity, albeit slowly. Why does the LNHCL behave this way?</i>			

APPENDIX 10

Map showing the Notting Hill Carnival's festival boundary and the RBKC's jurisdiction



Source: RBKC (2015b)